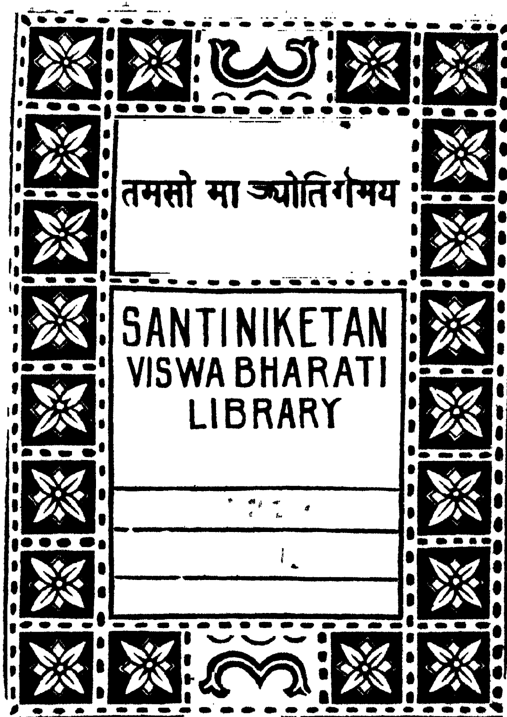


Banda Singh Bahadur

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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LIFE OF

BANDA SINGH BAHADUR

Based on
Contemporary and Original Records

BY

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with a Foreword by

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AND

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PUBLISHED BY

The Sikh History Research Department,
Khalsa College, Amritsar.

April, 1935.

PRINTED AT
The Oriental Printing Press,
AMRITSAR.

To

GURU GOVIND SINGH,

THE MASTER OF THE SERVANT *(Banda)*.

چوکار از ہمہ حیلتے در گذشت
حلال است بُردن بہ شمشیر دست

When all other means have failed,
It is lawful to resort to the sword.—

Guru Govind Singh :
Zafar Namah.

"When Guru Govind [Singh] inaugurated the sacrament of steel he proved himself a wise and far-sighted leader. For of all material things which genius has inspired with spiritual significance steel is the truest and most uncompromising. Let humanitarians prate as they will, there never has been a race who have not been purged and refined by it. In some it is the only combater of grossness and the monster of self. To the Khalsa it gave a cause and welded them into a nation; and in the dark days of Muhammadan rule in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Sikh was slain at sight and no quarter was given, it drove them on those gallant crusades in which they rode to Amritsar in the dead of night, leapt into the sacred tank and out again, and galloped back through the enemies' lines purified. Hundreds were slain, but not one abjured his faith or perjured his soul to preserve 'his muddy vesture of decay'."

Edmund Candler :
The Mantle of the East.

FOREWORD.

By Bhai Sahib Bhai Vir Singh Ji.

ਵਚਨਾਰੰਭ ।

ਕੁਛ ਸਮੇਂ ਤੋਂ ਖ਼ਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਨੇ ਸਿਖ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਦੀ ਖੋਜ ਲਈ ਇਕ ਮਹਿਕਮਾ ਖੋਲ੍ਹਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਵਾਗ ਡੋਰ ਸ੍ਰੀਮਾਨ ਸ: ਗੰਡਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਰੀਸਰਚ ਸਕਾਲਰ ਨੂੰ ਸੌਂਪੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ । ਇਸ ਮਹਿਕਮੇ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਲਜ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਬਾਵਜੂਦ ਪਦਾਰਥਕ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਦੀਆਂ ਔਕੜਾਂ ਦੇ ਕਾਇਮ ਰਖ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਇਹ ਮਹਿਕਮਾ ਆਪਣੇ ਵਿਤ ਤੇ ਸਮਾਨਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਵਧ ਚੜ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ।

ਸ: ਗੰਡਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਵਕਤ ਅਲੱਭ ਤੇ ਦੁਰਲੱਭ ਪੁਸਤਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਕੱਠੇ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਖਰਚ ਹੋਇਆ ਤੇ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ । ਇਸ ਔਖੇ ਕੰਮ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਨਾਲ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਇਕ ਹੋਰ ਨਿੱਗਰ ਕੰਮ ਸਿਰੇ ਚਾੜ੍ਹਿਆ ਹੈ, ਅਰਥਾਤ ਬਾਬਾ ਬੰਦਾ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਜੀਵਨ ਚਰਿੱਤ੍ਰ । ਆਪ ਨੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਬੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਾ ਜੀਵਨ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਸੰਖੇਪ ਤੇ ਹੁਣ ਸਵਿਸਥਾਰ ਲਿਖ ਕੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਮਹਿਕਮੇ ਦੀ ਸ਼ੋਭਾ ਵਧਾਈ ਹੈ, ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਦੇ ਇਸ ਸ਼ੁਭ ਕਾਰਜ ਦੇ ਬੀੜਾ ਚੁਕਣ ਨੂੰ ਚਾਰ ਚੰਨ ਲਾ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਪੰਥ ਪਰ ਸਾਬਤ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਮਦ ਵਿਚ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਕਾਲਜ ਦੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਕਰਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਏ ।

ਅਕਾਂਖਜਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਪੁਸਤਕ ਲਈ ਕੁਛ ਹਰਫ਼ ਬਤੌਰ 'ਵਚਨਾਰੰਭ' ਮੈਂ ਲਿਖਾਂ ਜਿਸ ਲਈ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੀਆਂ ਸਤਰਾਂ ਨਿਵੇਦਨ ਹਨ।

ਬਾਬਾ ਬੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ, ਪ੍ਰਸਿੱਧ ਨਾਮ ਬਾਬਾ ਬੰਦਾ ਜੀ, ਦਾ ਜੀਵਨ ਸ: ਗੰਡਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਜੀਵਨ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਰਹਿ ਰਹਿ ਕੇ ਉਸੇ ਵੇਲੇ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਕਲਮ ਬੰਦ ਕੀਤੇ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਉਥੋਂ ਲੈਕੇ ਲੇਖਕ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਨਵੀਂ ਸ਼ਕਲ ਵਿਚ ਵਰਣਨ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਹਨ। ਇਹ ਜੀਵਨ ਤਾਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਹੋਰ ਹੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਹੋਈ ਅਤੇ ਵਰਣਨ ਹੋਈ ਸ਼ੈ ਹੈ। ਅਰਥਾਤ ਇਹ ਇਕ ਢੂੰਡ ਭਾਲ ਤੇ ਖੋਜ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰੀਸ਼ਰਮ ਨਾਲ ਲੱਭੀ ਹੋਈ ਜੀਵਨ ਕਥਾ ਹੈ। ਉਹ ਖੋਜ ਸੁਲੱਭ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਪੁਸਤਕਾਂ ਤੇ ਹੀ ਨਿਰਭਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਖਦੀ, ਸਗੋਂ ਐਸੀਆਂ ਪੁਸਤਕਾਂ ਤੇ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਦੁਰਲਭ ਹਨ, ਕੇਵਲ ਲਿਖਤੀ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਬਾਜ਼ੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਇਕ ਇਕ ਹੀ ਕਾਪੀ ਕਿਤੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਖੂੰਜੇ ਯਾ ਦੂਰ ਪਈ ਲਾਇਬ੍ਰੇਰੀ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਂਭੀ ਪਈ ਹੈ। ਇਥੇ ਹੀ ਬਸ ਨਹੀਂ, ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਦੇ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਰੋਜ਼ਨਾਮਚੇ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਪਾਸ ਸੂਬਿਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਪਹੁੰਚੀਆਂ ਰਪੋਰਟਾਂ, ਅਰ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਵਲੋਂ ਜਾਰੀ ਹੋਏ ਅਹਿਕਾਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਖੋਜ ਪੜਤਾਲ ਤੋਂ ਲੱਭੇ ਸਾਮਾਨ ਬੀ ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਹੈਨ। ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਵਿਚ ਆਪ ਇਸ ਹੱਦ ਤਕ ਗਏ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਖੁਦ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਆਪਣਾ ਜਾਰੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਇਕ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ ਬੀ ਆਪ ਦੇ ਹੱਥ ਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਇਸ ਪੋਥੀ ਵਿਚ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।

ਇਸ ਖੋਜ ਭਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਹੂਲਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਕਿਸੇ ਇਕ ਟਿਕਾਣੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਸਾਮਾਨ ਪਏ ਸਨ ਤੇ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਮੁਤਾਲਿਆ ਕਰ ਲਏ। ਬੰਬਰ ਤੋਂ ਲੈ ਕਲਕੱਤੇ ਤਕ ਜਗ੍ਹਾ ਜਗ੍ਹਾ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਫਿਰ ਫਿਰ ਕੇ ਸਾਮਾਨ ਖੋਜੇ ਹਨ। ਕਲਕੱਤੇ ਦੇ ਦੁਸ਼ਲੱਭ ਇਕਾਇਆਂ, ਪੁਰਾਤਨ ਫਾਈਲਾਂ ਤੇ ਹੁਣ ਨਾ ਮਿਲ ਸਕਣ ਵਾਲੇ

ਅਖਬਾਰ ਤੇ ਰਸਾਲੇ ਖੋਜੇ ਹਨ । ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਖੋਜਾਂ ਪੜਤਾਲਾਂ ਤੇ ਉਤਾਰੇ ਲੈਣ ਵਿਚ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਇਤਨਾ ਵਿਤੋਂ ਵਧਵਾਂ ਕੰਮ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਕਲਕੱਤੇ ਦੇ ਇਕ ਸਫ਼ਰ ਵਿਚ ਬੀਮਾਰ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਵਾਪਸ ਆਏ ਸਨ ।

ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਝਾਗਣ ਦੇ ਬਾਦ ਫਿਰ ਇਕ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ਹੋਰ ਆਉਂਦੀ ਹੈ, ਜਿਹੜੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਖੋਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਸਚ ਦੇ ਧਰੂਵੇ ਤੇ ਪਹੁੰਚਣੋਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਪਰੇ ਪਰੇ ਸੁੱਟਣ ਦਾ ਜਤਨ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ । ਉਹ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਕਿਸੇ ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਦੇ ਕਲਮ-ਬੰਦ ਕੀਤੇ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਮਿਲਦੇ । ਫਿਰ ਬਾਕੀ ਰਹਿ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਲੇਖਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਲਿਖੇ ਲੇਖ, ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਨਾਲ ਸਮਕਾਲੀ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਲਿਖੇ ਹੋਏ ਲੇਖ ਨਹੀਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਹੁੰਦੇ । ਇਹ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ਵਧੇਰੇ ਸਫੁਟ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਯੂਰਪ ਦੇ ਮਹਾਨ ਜੁਧ ਦੇ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਕਿਸੇ ਅੰਗ੍ਰੇਜ਼ ਦੇ ਲਿਖੇ ਹੋਏ ਪੜ੍ਹੇ ਤੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਜਰਮਨ ਦੇ ਲਿਖੇ ਹੋਏ ਵੀ ਪੜ੍ਹੇ ਤੇ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਮੁਕਾਬਲਾ ਕਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਦਿੱਸ ਪੈਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਚਾਹੇ ਦੁਇ ਧਿਰਾਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਨੂੰ ਸਚਾ ਸਚਾ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਦਸਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ, ਪਰ ਸੱਚ ਦੁਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਟਾਕਰੇ ਤੋਂ ਸਹੀ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ, ਐਵੇਂ ਨਹੀਂ । ਸ: ਗੰਡਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸਾਰੀ ਕਾਬਲੇ ਤਾਰੀਫ ਖੋਜ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਲਿਖਤਾਂ ਤੇ ਅੰਗ੍ਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਲੇਖਕਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਪੁਸਤਕਾਂ ਤੇ ਮੁੱਕ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ । ਇਸਦਾ ਇਹ ਅਰਥ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਲੇਖਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਮੁਤਾਲਿਆ ਤੇ ਖੋਜ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤੀ । ਆਪ ਨੇ ਇਧਰ ਵੀ ਸਿਰੋਂ ਪਰੇ ਵਾਹ ਲਾਈ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਿਧ ਸਾਮਾਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਿਵਾ ਲਿਖਤੀ ਸਾਮਾਨਾਂ ਤਕ ਜਿਥੋਂ ਕਿਤੇ ਕੁਛ ਵੀ ਮਿਲ ਸਕਿਆ ਖੋਜਿਆ ਤੇ ਪੜਤਾਲਿਆ ਹੈ । ਇਸੇ ਹੀ ਖੋਜ ਵਿਚ ਬਾਬੇ ਬੰਦੇ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾਂ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਲਭਿਆ ਹੈ । ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ਜਿਹੜੀ ਹੈ ਸੁ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦਾ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਮਸਾਲਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਘੱਟ ਮਿਲਦਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਦਾ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਅਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਨਹੀਂ ਲੱਭਾ । ਹੁਣ ਜਦ ਬਹੁਤਾ ਨਿਰਭਰ ਫਾਰਸੀ ਲੇਖਕਾਂ ਪਰ ਹੀ ਰਹਿ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਇਕ ਪਾਸੇ ਦਾ ਨਕਤਾ ਖਿਆਲ ਤਾਂ ਮਿਲ ਜਾਂਦਾ

ਹੈ ਤੇ ਖੋਜੀ ਦਾ ਖਿਆਲ ਉਸੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਝੁਕ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਹਾਲ ਕਈ ਇਕ ਅੰਗ੍ਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕਾਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੇ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਲਿਖੇ ਹਨ। ਪਰ ਸ: ਗੰਡਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ਨੂੰ ਚੋਖੀ ਹਦ ਤਕ ਐਉਂ ਹਲ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਕੋਸ਼ਸ਼ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਫਾਰਸੀ ਲੇਖਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਪਰਸਪਰ ਮੁਕਾਬਲਿਆਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਐਸੇ ਨੁਕਤੇ ਲੱਭੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਅਸਲੀਯਤ ਦੀ ਸੋਝੀ ਪੈ ਗਈ ਤੇ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਨਾਲ ਨਾਲ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਲੇਖਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਲਿਖੇ ਹਾਲ ਜੋ ਥਾਹੋਂ ਥੋੜੇ ਤੇ ਕਈ ਵੇਰ ਰਲਗਡ* ਜਹੇ ਸਨ ਟਾਕਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਰੱਖਕੇ ਅਸਲੀਅਤ ਦੀ ਟੋਹ ਲਾ ਲਈ ਹੈ। ਕਿਸੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੁਕਤੇ ਦੀ ਹੱਲ ਤੇ ਅਸਲੀਅਤ ਦੀ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਮਕਾਲੀ ਅੰਗ੍ਰੇਜ਼ ਦੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਲਿਖਤ ਤੋਂ ਰਸਤਾ ਦੇ ਗਈ ਹੈ।

ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਖੋਜ ਭਾਲ ਨਾਲ ਜੋ ਕੁਝ ਲੱਭ ਸਕਿਆ ਹੈ ਉਹ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਗੁੰਦਿਆ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਤਹਰੀਰ ਦੇ ਤ੍ਰੀਕੇ ਨੂੰ

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*ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਖੋਜ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ ਅਠਾਈ ਕੁ ਬਰਸ ਹੋਏ ਚੀਫ਼ ਖ਼ਾਲਸਾ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਨੇ ਭਾਈ ਕਰਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਹਥੀਂ ਅਰਭ ਕਰਵਾਇਆ ਸੀ।

ਬਾਬਾ ਬੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਨਾਮਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਯਾਦ ਗੁੰਮ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਤੱਕ ਕੇ ਭਾਈ ਕਰਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਹਿਸਟੋਰੀਅਨ ਦੀ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਮਿਹਨਤ ਇਸ ਪਾਸੇ ਪਾਈ ਗਈ ਤੇ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ, ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਸੋਮਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਖੋਜ ਤੋਂ 'ਬੰਦਾ ਬਹਾਦਰ' ਲਿਖਿਆ। ਇਹ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਵਿਚ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਕਿਸਮ ਦੀ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਸ਼ੈ ਸੀ ਜੋ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਨੁਕਤਾ ਨਿਗਾਹ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਜੀਵਨੀ ਕਹਿਲਾਣ ਦੀ ਹਕਦਾਰ ਹੈ। ਸ਼ੋਕ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸਦੇ ਵਡਾ ਕਰਨ, ਨਵੀਨ ਖੋਜ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਵਾਰਨ ਤੇ ਸੁਧਾਰਨ ਦੀ ਫੁਰਸਤ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਪਰਲੋਕ ਦੇ ਸਦੇ ਨੇ ਨਾ ਲੈਣ ਦਿੱਤੀ। ਆਪ ਦੀ ਨਵੀਨ ਖੋਜ ਦਾ ਕੁਛ ਥਹੁ 'ਬੰਦਾ ਕੌਣ ਥਾ' (ਉਰਦੂ) ਵਿਚੋਂ ਲਗ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਸ਼ਾਯਦ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਆਖ਼ਰੀ ਲਿਖਤ ਸੀ।

ਵਿਗਜ਼ਾਨਕ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਦੀ ਹੱਦ ਬੰਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਰੱਖ ਕੇ ਬੇਰੰਗ ਤੇ ਬੇ-ਕਮੋਕਾਮਤ ਸਰਜਾਈ ਦੇ ਸੱਚੇ ਵਿਚ ਢਾਲਿਆ ਹੈ। ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਗਹੁ ਨਾਲ ਪੜ੍ਹਿਆ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਇਹ ਕਹਿਣ ਨੂੰ ਤਿਆਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਅਜੇ ਹੋਰ ਕੁਝ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਜੀਵਨ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਲੱਭ ਸਕਣਾ ਅਸੰਭਵ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਜੋ ਕੁਛ ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ, ਇਹ ਹੁਣ ਤਕ ਦੀ ਮੁਮਕਿਨ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਦਾ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਵਡਾ ਫਲ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਲੇਖਕ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਿਹਨਤ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਦਕੀਕਾ ਬਾਕੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਰੱਖਿਆ।

ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਲਿਖੇ ਇਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੇ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਅਜੇ ਤਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਲੱਭੇ, ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਹਾਦਤ ਦੇ ਦਿਨ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਦ ਲਗ ਪਗ ੪੦ ਬਰਸ ਦੇ ਅੰਦਰ ਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਦਾ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਅਜੇ ਤਕ ਹੱਥ ਨਹੀਂ ਆ ਸਕਿਆ। ਇਸ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਕਈ ਇਕ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਮੁਤਅਲਿਕ ਗਲਤ ਪ੍ਰਸਿਧ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਮਸਲਨ ਇਹ ਕਿ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਆ ਕੇ ਕਬਜ਼ਾ ਕਰਨਾ ਚਾਹਿਆ ਤੇ ਗੁਰਯਾਈ ਦਾ ਦਾਅਵਾ ਕੀਤਾ। ਇਹ ਘਟਨਾ ਬਾਬਾ ਬੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਜੀਵਨ ਦੀ ਨਹੀਂ, ਪਰ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਦ ਦੀ ਹੈ, ਜਦੋਂ ਕਿ ਬੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਤੋਂ ਮਗਰੋਂ ਕਈ ਸਾਲ ਜਾਰੀ ਰਹੀ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਕਤਲਾਮ ਮੁੱਕ ਚੁਕੀ ਤੇ ਕੁਝ ਸਾਹ ਲੈਣ ਦੇ ਦਿਨ ਆਏ ਸਨ, ਜਦੋਂ ਕਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਪੂਜਜ ਮਾਤਾ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਪੰਥ ਨੂੰ ਬਖ਼ਸ਼ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਸੀ। ਉਹ ਝਗੜਾ ਬੰਦਈ ਕਹਿਲਾਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦਾ, ਖਾਲਸਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਤੇ ਜੀਤਮੱਲੀਏ ਕਹਿਲਾਣ ਵਾਲ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦਾ ਸੀ। ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਪਿਛਲੇ ਤਾਂ ਪਹਿਲੋਂ ਹਟ ਗਏ ਤੇ ਬੰਦਈਆਂ ਤੇ ਖਾਲਸਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਮਗਰੋਂ ਹੋਇਆ ਜੋ ਕਿ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਹੱਕ ਵਿਚ ਸੀ।

ਇਸੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਃ ਰਤਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਭੰਗੂ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਲੇਖ ਵਿਚ ਇਕ ਉਕਾਈ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਸਹੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ। ਭੰਗੂ ਜੀ ਦਾ

ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਇਕ ਕੀਮਤੀ ਸ਼ੈ ਹੈ ਅਰ ਭਾਰੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਕ੍ਰਤ ਦਾ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਖਬਰ ਗ਼ਲਤ ਮਿਲੀ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਵ਼ਕਤ ਦੀ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਨੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਜੀ ਤੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਬੰਦੇ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਅਜੋੜ ਕਰਵਾਇਆ ਸੀ । ਇਸ ਵਿਸ਼ੇ ਤੇ ਸ: ਗੰਡਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਚੋਖੀ ਖੋਜ ਦੇ ਬਾਦ ਨਿਸਚੇ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਸਬੂਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ ।

ਇਸੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਬਾਬਾ ਬੰਦਾ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ ਬੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਛਕਿਆ ਸੀ ਇਸ ਵਿਸ਼ੇ ਤੇ ਵੀ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਚੰਗੀ ਰੋਸ਼ਨੀ ਪਾਈ ਹੈ । ਬੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਪੱਕੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਨ ਤੇ ਅਖੀਰ ਦਮ ਤਕ ਸਿੰਘ ਰਹੇ ਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇ ਭਰੋਸੇ ਤੇ ਟਿਕੇ ਰਹੇ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਕਰਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਇਹ ਗੱਲ ਵੀ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਸਬੂਤਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਲੱਭ ਲਈ ਹੈ । ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਭਿੰਬਰ ਵਾਲੇ ਡੇਰੇ ਤੇ ਆਪ ਜਾਕੇ ਤੇ ਖੋਜ ਕਰਕੇ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਸਹੀ ਕਰ ਲਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਖਾਲਿਸੇ ਹਨ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਛਕਦੇ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਸਦੇ ਹਨ । ਜੋ ਅਜੋੜ ਕਦੇ ਹੋਇਆ ਦੱਸੀਦਾ ਹੈ ਉਸ ਬਾਬਤ ਲਾਯਕ ਲੇਖਕ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਖੋਜ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ 'ਫਤਹ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ' ਬੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਇਕ ਨਵੀਂ War Cry (ਜੰਗ ਦਾ ਨਾਅਰਾ) ਜਾਰੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ, ਤੇ ਕੁਛ ਚਿਰ ਇਹ ਬੋਲਣ ਤੇ ਲਿਖਣ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਵਿਰਤ ਰਿਹਾ ਤੇ ਫੇਰ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਇਸਨੂੰ ਨਾ-ਮਨਜ਼ੂਰ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਛਡ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ । ਜਾਪਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮਾਤਾ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਇਸੇ ਲਈ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੋਣਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹ, ਜੋ ਦਸਵੇਂ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਦਾ ਬੋਲਾ ਹੈ, ਜਾਰੀ ਰਹੇ ਤੇ ਨਵਾਂ ਤ੍ਰੀਕਾ ਫ਼ਤਹ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਦਾ ਬੰਦ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ । ਜੋ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਮੰਨ ਲਿਆ ਜਾਪਦਾ ਹੈ ।

ਜੋ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਲੜਾਈਆਂ, ਫਤੂਹਾਤ ਤੇ ਸਫਰ

ਦੇ ਮੁਤਅਲਕ ਖੋਜ ਕਰੀਏ ਤਾਂ ਆਮ ਪੁਸਤਕਾਂ ਬਲਕਿ ਕਈ ਨਾਮੀ ਪੁਸਤਕਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਉਕਾਈਆਂ ਹਨ । ਇਸ ਸਿਲਸਿਲੇ ਨੂੰ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਖੂਬੀ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਫ਼ ਕੀਤਾ ਤੇ ਖਰਖੌਂਡੇ ਤੋਂ ਲੈਕੇ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ ਨੰਗਲ ਤਕ ਤੇ ਫੇਰ ਅੰਤ ਦਿੱਲੀ ਵਿਖੇ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਹਾਦਤ ਤਕ ਸਾਰਾ ਸਫਰ ਸਿਲਸਿਲੇ ਵਾਰ ਤੇ ਸਫ਼ਾ ਬੰਨ੍ਹ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ ।

ਅੰਗ੍ਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਤੇ ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਪੜ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਅਕਸਰ ਸਿੱਖ ਲੇਖਕ ਜਦ ਆਪ ਕੁਛ ਲਿਖਦੇ ਹਨ ਤਾਂ ਐਉਂ ਲਿਖਦੇ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਮਾਨੋਂ ਕੋਈ ਓਪਰਾ ਹੀ ਲਿਖ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਲਾਇਕ ਲੇਖਕ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਮੱਤਜਤਾ ਤੇ ਸੱਚ ਦੀ ਨਿਰੋਲਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਇਮ ਰਖਦਿਆਂ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਿਵੇਂ ਕੋਈ ਸਿਖ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕਾਰ ਸੱਚੇ ਵਾਕਿਆਤ ਨੂੰ ਜੋਖ ਜੋਖ ਤੇ ਤੋਲ ਤੋਲ ਕੇ ਲਿਖ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ।

ਇਕ ਹੋਰ ਖੂਬੀ ਜਿਸ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਪੁਸਤਕ ਨੂੰ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਕ੍ਰਤ ਵਿਚ ਬਹੁਤ ਕੀਮਤੀ ਕਰ ਦਿਤਾ ਹੈ ਉਹ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਫੁਟ ਨੋਟ ਹਨ, ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਲਾਇਕ ਲੇਖਕ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਲਿਖੇ ਲਗ ਪਗ ਹਰ ਵਾਕਿਆ ਦੇ ਸਬੂਤ ਦੇ ਦਿਤੇ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਜਿਸ ਜਿਸ ਚਸ਼ਮੇ ਤੋਂ ਓਹ ਸਬੂਤ ਆਏ ਹਨ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਪਤੇ ਲਾ ਦਿਤੇ ਹਨ ।

ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਐਸੇ ਸੱਚੇ ਤੇ ਨਿਰੋਲ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਦੀ ਬੜੀ ਲੋੜ ਸੀ, ਖਾਸ ਕਰ ਇਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਜਦੋਂ ਕਿ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਜੀਵਨ ਚਰਿਤ੍ਰ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਨਿਰਮੂਲ ਤੇ ਅਨ-ਹੋਏ ਵਾਕਿਆਤ ਘੜ ਕੇ ਪੁਸਤਕ ਛਾਪੇ ਜਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਬਨਾਵਟੀ ਲਿਖਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਕੁਝ ਅਰਸਾ ਮਗਰੋਂ ਸੱਚ ਲੱਭ ਸਕਣਾ ਹੋਰ ਕਠਨ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦਾ । ਸੋ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਬਣਾਈਆਂ ਜਾ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਬਨਾਵਟਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਕੁਹੀੜਾਂ ਦੇ ਉਠਣ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਸੱਚ ਤੇ ਅਸਲੀਅਤ ਦਾ ਸੂਰਜ ਚਾੜ੍ਹ ਦਣਾ ਤੇ ਨਿਰੋਲ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਿਕ ਸਚਾਈ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਯੋਜਨ ਰੱਖ ਕੇ ਸਚ ਨੂੰ ਅੱਖਾਂ ਅਗੇ ਲਿਆ ਦੇਣਾ

ਸਚੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਸੇਵਾ ਹੈ. ਨਾ ਕੇਵਲ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਲਕਿ ਜਗਤ ਦੀ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਜਗਤ ਸੱਚੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਤੋਂ ਹੀ ਸਦਾ ਸੁਸਿੱਖਜਤ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ । ਗਲਤ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਇਨਸਾਨ ਦੀ ਤਰੱਕੀ ਦੇ ਰਾਹ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਘਨਕਾਰੀ ਹੈ ।

ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਪੁਸਤਕ ਨੂੰ ਬਹੁਤ ਗਹੁ ਨਾਲ ਪੜ੍ਹਿਆ ਹੈ, ਇਹ ਇਕ ਜੋਖਵੀਂ ਤੁਲਵੀਂ ਵਸਤੂ ਹੈ ਇਸਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਸਾ ਅਲਕਾਰਕ ਰਚਨਾ ਨਾਲ ਕਰਨੀ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਤੁਲਵੀਂ ਕ੍ਰਤ ਨੂੰ ਘਟਾਣ ਦਾ ਅਸਰ ਰਖਦੀ ਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਹੀ ਇਸਦੇ ਕੀਮਤੀ ਪਹਿਲੂਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਲੇਖ ਵਿਚ ਵਨਕੀ ਮਾਤ੍ਰ ਦਰਸਾਉਣ ਤੇ ਹੀ ਬੱਸ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ । ਇਸਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਸਾ ਇਹ ਆਪ ਹੈ । ਗੋਲ ਨੂੰ ਵਧੇਰੇ ਗੋਲ ਕਹਿਣਾ ਤੇ ਸੱਚ ਨੂੰ ਵਧੇਰਾ ਸੱਚ ਕਹਿਣਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਬਣਦਾ ਤਿਵੇਂ ਇਸ ਪੁਸਤਕ ਲਈ ਬੱਸ ਹੈ ਇਹ ਕਹਿਣਾ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਇਕ ਛਾਣਵਾਂ, ਪੁਣਵਾਂ, ਤੁਲਵਾਂ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਹੈ, ਇਸ ਦੇ ਲਾਇਕ ਲੇਖਕ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਅਸਲੀਅਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਲੱਭ ਲੱਭ ਕੇ ਆਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਜਗਤ ਦੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ । ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਦੀ ਕੀਮਤ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਹੈ, ਚਾਨਣ ਦੀ ਕੀਮਤ ਨੈਣ ਹਨ, ਤਿਵੇਂ ਸੱਚ ਦੀ ਕੀਮਤ ਸੱਚ ਦਾ ਅਹਿਸਾਸ ਹੈ ।

ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ
੧੬-੪-੫੫

ਵੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ

II

To encourage and organize research in Sikh history, the Khalsa College, Amritsar, has created a department of Sikh History Research, which since 1931 has been working with S. Ganda Singh at its head. The life of Banda Singh Bahadur is the first fruit of his labours, and I feel great pride in presenting this work to the public. Sardar Ganda Singh has been working at it single-handed, and has not spared himself in any way to complete the task in the incredibly short period of a twelve-month, during which he was also engaged on the compilation of a Bibliography of Sikh History. He has travelled from the Punjab to Bengal and from Bengal back to the Punjab, hunting for records in different libraries, private and public, and in spite of his indifferent health has produced a work the value of which can be best judged by competent critics. The amount of labour spent on it cannot be judged from the number of quotations embodied in the book, but only from the total volume of the records consulted, some of which yielded a few grains of fact, while others practically nothing.

The time and labour will not be regretted, however, if the information collected and presented in this volume throws some new light on the much obscured subject.

The author has endeavoured to give only a simple narrative of the principal incidents of the last eight eventful years of the great hero's life, based upon official diaries, personal memoirs, original histories and letters of officials concerned, written after the events they describe—some during the events and almost on the fieds of battle. He has added nothing from himself to supply missing links, or to give a picturesque look to the descriptions. In places where he has been constrained to differ from the prevailing accounts, he has supported his views with overwhelming array of facts and quotations, the validity of which cannot be questioned.

In presenting this book to the discerning readers, I would request them to disabuse their minds of all the preconceived notions and prejudices associated with the name of Banda Singh Bahadur, and to follow the narrative with open minds to discover the real source of the man's greatness. There can be no question that Banda Singh was a great man, one of the greatest that our land has produced; and it is no use for Sikhs

to turn away their faces from one who sacrificed his all for making his country safe for the believers in his Master, and for those who had been groaning for centuries under the heel of the oppressor. Nor is it becoming for the other admirers of the hero to wrench his story from its historic foundations to suit their own purposes. Let the man stand as he is, and he will do for both. *Ecce Homo !*

BISHAN SINGH,
Principal,
KHALSA COLLEGE, AMRITSAR.

16-4-1935.

PREFACE

The case of Banda Singh Bahadur presents, perhaps, the strangest array of difficulties and paradoxes in the whole range of Sikh biography. No biography of his, written during his life time by any of his admirers or impartial writers, has so far been unearthed to give us first-hand and reliable information on his life and work. No doubt, there are works by Bhangu Rattan Singh Shahid, Bhai Santokh Singh and Bhai Gyan Singh with chapters on him; there are sketches by Daulat Rai, Sohan Singh, and Karam Singh, and there are sections allotted to this subject in almost all the books that deal with the rise of the Sikh nation. But unfortunately no account of Banda Singh so far written by a contemporary or a later writer—Muslim, Hindu, or Sikh—exhibits his true character.

The struggle of the Sikhs, against the intolerance and iniquities of the Mughal rulers has been erroneously interpreted into a religious campaign of the Sikhs against the religion of Islam, or into a rebellion of the *Kuffaar* against the rule of the *Momins*. The accounts of Persian histories, like

the *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab* of Khafi Khan, the ***Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*** of Ghulam Hussain Khan, etc., are, under this impression, influenced by their pro-Islamic prejudices again the non-Muslims. They have readily accepted false and flimsy rumours as historical truths and have charged Banda Singh with the blackest cruelty and barbarism, which 'had infidels been the sufferers and a Mussalman the actor,' says Mills, 'they might not, perhaps, have thought unworthy of applause.' Most of the English writers also have followed these historians and have believed them implicity. But, with all this, it cannot be denied that the historical honesty of the Persian writers too often prevails over other considerations and that their writings present much less difficulty to the discerning eye of a research student. Not only for this, but even otherwise, in the absence of any contemporary Sikh records, we have to depend, for the history of the first half of the eighteenth century, mostly upon the writings and records of Muslim historians, diarists and officials.

The works of Sikh writers on the subject—particularly of Bhai Gian Singh—though they are of great value in supplying us with details, are sometimes tarnished by their love for poetic exaggeration Not merely do they sometimes

adopt a partisan attitude, but they allow their judgement of men and matters to be clouded by sectarian partiality. The life-history of Banda Singh has suffered the most at their hands under wrong notions. He has been slandered for and accused of things of which he was never guilty. Bhangu Rattan Singh is a Sikh writer of integrity and is generally reliable, though his account of Banda Singh is faulty on certain points. He was the grandson of Bhai Mehtab Singh of Mirankot, who had either been personally through the unpleasant conflict between the Bandei and the other Khalsa, after the death of Banda Singh, in 1721, or had heard accounts of it from his father and others. He is the first writer to introduce the subject of negotiations between Farrukh Siyar and Mata Sundri which appear to have been based on hearsay and wrong information. In writing on Banda Singh, Bhai Santokh Singh, the author of the unparalleled scholarly work, the *Suraj Prakash*, in the absence of any contemporary records at his disposal, has not been able to penetrate beyond the crust of the then prevalent accounts. He considered all the previous Punjabi works on the subject, from the ***Mahma Prakash***, both in prose and in poetry, to the ***Sau Sakhi*** and other similar works, as equally authentic. Bhai Gian Singh in his ***Panth Prakash***

and the *Shamsher Khalsa*, has accepted the popular stories, and could scarcely make any distinction between him, who related events at which he had himself been present, and him who about two hundred years later composed a fictitious novel. He is an off-hand writer and is sometimes fanciful and imaginative. Precious elements, in his works, are sometimes mixed up with baser ones in such a manner that to separate them is a task of the utmost difficulty. The late Sardar Karam Singh attempted a scientific biography of Banda Bahadur in 1707. He studied all the Persian writings, that he could then find, along with the Punjabi sources, and made local enquiries on his subject. But with all this some errors unavoidably crept into his work. He was an honest historian and when the truth dawned upon him after more extensive study of over twenty years he frankly acknowledged and rectified his mistakes. His *Banda Kaun tha*, published in 1928, is a testimony to it. Unfortunately he was soon snatched away by the cruel hand of death and the unrecorded results of his life-long researches in Sikh history of the eighteenth century were lost to us for ever.

The *Banda Bahadur* of Lala Daulat Rai, though an honest attempt, is not free from the errors of its sources, the *Panth Prakash* and the *Shamsher Khalsa* of Gian Singh and the

Banda Bahadur of Karam Singh. The *Bir Bairagi* of Bhai Parmanand is anything but history. There is hardly any statement in it that could be supported by documentary evidence.

In view of these defects and imperfections in the attempts made so far by different writers, I felt myself justified in undertaking the present work. I began it quite afresh, and I have attempted to pierce through the gloom that veiled the life-history of this great hero and martyr of the early eighteenth century. Subjecting every fact to scrutiny and criticism in the light of contemporary and original works—mostly unpublished Persian manuscripts—I have undertaken an impartial investigation of the whole subject, and have dealt with it on scientific lines, regardless of the opinions and prejudices of the previous writers. I have followed the *Later Mughals* of William Irvine as a model of historical method, and have, like him, gone to the contemporary and original sources for the materials for my book. For the events of Banda Singh's life, after his arrival in the Punjab, I have depended exclusively upon the writings of those who had either personally witnessed, or had first-hand knowledge of the events that they have narrated, supplemented by other original and later authorities.

I do not profess to be an artist, nor do I consider historical narrative a fine art. It is, therefore, that in rendering the Persian and Gurmukhi accounts of my authorities, I have been strictly literal, sometimes sacrificing language and style at the altar of historical accuracy. I have paid more attention to the accuracy of facts than to the picturesque play upon words. The work is only a volume of hard facts—of simple and plain facts—with no mixture of sensation and sentiment divorced from knowledge.

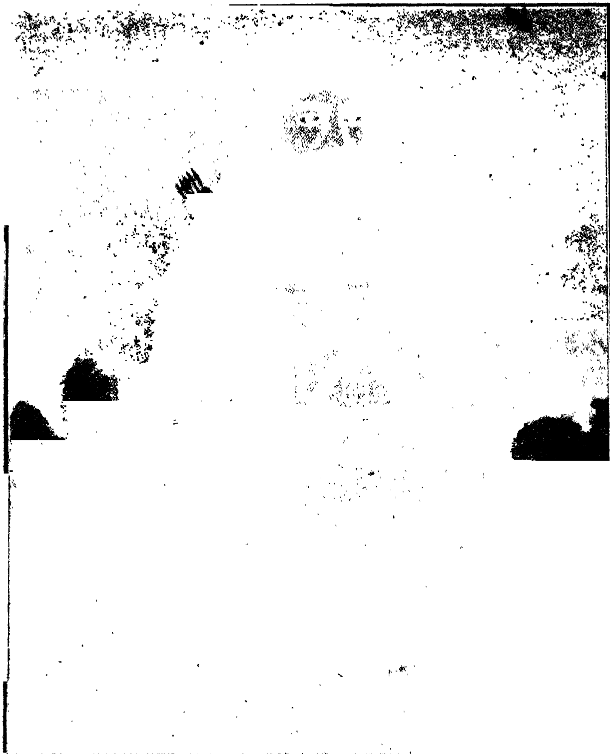
In the completion of this work I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Sarbar Bahadur Sardar Bishen Singh, B.A., I.E.S. (Retd.), Principal, Khalsa College, Amritsar, and Bhai Sahib Bhai Vir Singh, who have been a source of inspiration and solace to me, and without whose constant encouragement and help it could not, I am afraid, have been possible to bring it out at this time. Bhai Sahib Bhai Vir Singh, in spite of his multifarious engagements, has also been kind enough to spare some of his most valuable time in going through the manuscript and making some very useful suggestions and writing the foreword. The keen and loving interest taken by Bhagat Lakshman Singh, P. E. S. (Retd.), in my research work I can feel better than describe. He has also been kind

enough to go through the manuscript very carefully. My sincerest thanks are due to my learned friend Prof. Teja Singh, M.A., who has been ever ready to lend me a helping hand whenever I stood in need of it. He has taken great pains in going through the manuscript and making some valuable suggestions, and has also seen the final proofs of the book. I have, also, to acknowledge the encouragement I have received from Prof. Jodh Singh, M.A., whose sound and sincere advice has greatly helped me in this enterprise. He has also been kind enough to go through the final proofs. I shall be failing in my duty if I omit to acknowledge the ready assistance given to me by the authorities of the Imperial Library of Calcutta and the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library of Bankipur during my researches on the subject.

Khalsa College,
Amritsar,
17th April, 1935.

GANDA SINGH.

CONTENTS



BANDA SINGH BAHADUR

Born, 27th October, 1670. *Died, 19th June, 1716.*

BANDA SINGH BAHADUR

CHAPTER I

Childhood and Ascetic Life

Banda Singh, the subject of this sketch, was known as Lachhman Dev in his childhood. He was born on Kartik Sudi 13th, Samvat 1727, Bikrami, the 27th of October, 1670, at Rajori[1] in the Punchh district of western Kashmir. His father Ram Dev was an ordinary ploughman Rajput of the Bhardwaj[2]

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[1] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I. 93 ; Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, p. 20 ; Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, V. 237; Veni Prasad, *Guru Govind Singh*, 193-4, and others have all followed the account of Gian Singh's *Shamsher Khalsa*. James Browne (*History of the Rise and Progress of the Sicks, 1788, p. 9*), probably on the authority of Munshi Budh Singh's *Risala-i-Nanak Shah* written at his request, and the investigations of Lala Ajait Singh who was a collaborator of Budh Singh in this earliest known writing on this point, says that Banda Singh was the native of a village called Pandory in the Doaba Bist Jullundur of the Punjab.

[2] Hakim Rai, in his *Ahwal-i-Lachhman Das Urf Banda Sahib Chela Guru Govind Singh Sahib*, says that Banda Singh originally belonged to the Sodhi clan of the Khatris of the Punjab, and, according to another account also, he was a Punjabi Khatri of the Sialkot District. [*A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N. W. F. P., 722 and 628.*]

clan. As is the case with all such persons, who are born in poor circumstances and rise to historical importance in the later years of their lives, nothing is known of his early childhood except that the child Lachhman Dev, true to the traditions of his race, developed into a youth of very active habits, full of energy and fond of shooting and hunting.

Education, in the ordinary sense of the word, has never been popular in Kashmir. From times immemorial, it has been the exclusive monopoly of the Brahmins. Even in the twentieth century, we seldom hear of any learned person of outstanding merit in Kashmir beyond the Pundits. The birth-place of Lachhman Dev was situated in one of the most backward districts in matters educational. He had, therefore, it seems, no opportunity for regular schooling in the early days of his life. Like most of the young men of his age, he spent most of his time in manly exercises of ploughing and hunting, coupled with riding and archery, the last two being so highly cultivated in the soldier class of the Rajputs, in addition to their ordinary vocations of life. As a result of some prenatal influences, from the paternal or maternal side, he was very tender and sensitive of heart; and he was yet a raw youth when his life had its first dramatic turn.

It is related that during one of his hunting

excursions, he shot a doe, and when he approached nearer, the pitiable looks of the dying animal struck the tender chords of his heart. But added to this was another and more touching scene. As he cut open its stomach, he saw its two young ones falling from the womb and writhing to death before his very eyes, in a few minutes after their premature birth. The tender feelings of the impressionable youth were very much affected. Something latent moved him still more from within. Not only that sport appeared to him to be very distasteful, but his sense of penitence grew so strong that all of a sudden his mind had an ascetic turn and he turned away from everything mundane.

Lachhman Dev was now no longer a Rajput, but an ascetic in the making. Although a youth of barely fifteen, his home and household attracted him not, and he occasionally sought the company of wandering ascetics, who halted at Rajori[3] on their way to the valley of Kashmir. In these very days a

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[3] Rajori was a halting place on the route to Kashmir, and the ruins of the imperial rest-houses of the great Mughals and their courtiers, and the old edifices of different sorts raised by its Muhammadan Rajas still remind us of a once flourishing town with magnificent buildings and beautiful gardens on the right and left banks of the Tawi, a tributary of the Chenab. [See Fred. Drew's *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, 154-6; *Northern Barrier of India*, 102-3.]

Bairagi,[4] Janaki Prasad by name, appeared at Rajori and so captivated the heart of young Lachhman Dev that under the influence of his ascetic teachings he abandoned his home and household, became a disciple of the Bairagi and joined his party. Janaki Prasad, according to the custom of the Bairagis, gave him the new name of Madho Das.[5]

Madho Das now assumed the role of a rolling stone and moved from place to place on the mendicant excursions of his preceptor. In 1686, he accompanied Janaki Prasad to attend the ***Baisakhi*** fair at the shrine of Baba Ram Thamman at a village of the same name in the neighbourhood of Kasur in the Punjab. Here he entered into the discipleship of another Bairagi named Ram Dass. But the real peace of mind was still as distant from him as ever. He, therefore, set out with a group of itinerant Sadhus on a pilgrim tour, and for years he wandered from place to place until he came to the charming scenery of Nasik. He selected the woods of

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[4]The orders of austere Hindu ascetics devoted to the cults of Rama and Krishna are known generally as *Bairagis*, and then history commences with Saint Ramanuja, who taught in Southern India in the 11-12th centuries, but it was not until the time of Ramanand, towards the end of the fourteenth century, that the sect rose to power or importance in Northern India. For further particulars see *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N. W. F. P.* compiled by H. A. Rose, II. 35-8.

[5] Some writers have given him another alias 'Narain Das,' and remember him by it upto his admission into the Sikh faith.

historic Panchbati as a place for meditation and settled therein for a number of years. This place, from time immemorial, has been of particular attraction to the meditating recluses, not only for its undisturbed solitude in the seclusion of jungles, or its picturesque scenery, but mostly for its association with the holy Rama and his dutiful wife Sita, who are worshipped as God and Goddess by the Hindus.

It was here that he formed the acquaintance of an old Yogi, Aughar Nath,[6] famous for his attainments in Tantric science. Madho Das now developed so keen a desire to learn the science of Yoga and incantations, and he was so much attached to the old occultist, that Aughar Nath practically became the main object of his religious devotion. Madho Das performed every kind of service for him. Devoted service and implicit obedience were the main qualifications desired of a pupil to win the teacher's favour in the old Sadhu schools.[7] The

[6]According to Macauliffe, the Yogi was called Luni. [*Sikh Religion*, V. 237.]

[7]Before the advent of the British and their system of education, the educational institutions were run mostly by the priestly classes in places of religious worship. The Muhammadans and the Hindus had their *Maktibs* and *Pathshalas* in mosques and temples, and the Sikhs had their schools in the *Gurdwaras*, *Dharamsalas* and *Deras*. The ascetics, of whatever order, imparted instruction to their pupils in their monasteries or halting places, where the pupils followed them on their mendicant excursions.

whole-hearted devotion of Madho Das, therefore, moved the old Yogi in his favour and he instructed him in the secrets of Yoga and occultism. Being in the last stages of his life, and as Madho Das had won his confidence as a trustworthy disciple, Aughar Nath bequeathed to him, as his heritage, the much coveted book of occult and Yogic knowledge. This happened in the year 1691, and Aughar Nath died soon after.

Being thus accomplished, he left the Panchbati woods to establish a monastery of his own elsewhere, and followed the course of the Godavari until he arrived at Nanded. Here he erected a small cottage for himself outside the city and, in its solitude took to the life of austerities and Tantric practices, by dint of which he soon became widely known and greatly respected in the neighbourhood. It is asserted by many a writer that the young Bairagi freely practised his newly acquired sciences and that needy and superstitious people from far and near flocked to him for charms. In a short time a large following of disciples gathered round him, and the small hermitage of Madho Das grew into a regular monastery, with himself as its *Mahant* or the presiding abbot.

With the increase of his fame as a Yogi, possessed of supernatural powers, as he must have been advertised by his admirers and disciples, he seems to have been carried away by a peculiar notion

of superiority and self-importance, and a sort of pride entered his head. He was yet too raw for the life of a saint. Superiority complex overshadowed his virtues. He became childishly playful, and did not mind cutting coarsest jokes with his visitors and guests, thus trampling over his moral duty of *Atithi Sewa*, or the service of guests. He was undoubtedly a mine of energy and enthusiasm, but these were directed in wrong channels. The ore was there in an inexhaustible abundance, but was waiting for a Refining Chemist to separate the dross from the pure metal, and to clean and polish it with his chemical solutions. It was in this state of suspense that Madho Das spent some sixteen summers of his life at Nanded. At last the warrior-saint Guru Govind Singh appeared on the scene in the autumn of 1708 to reclaim the misdirected energies of the ascetic and make them flow in the channels of the Khalsa brotherhood, strenuously working for the emancipation of humanity, suffering under the iniquities and oppressions of the age.

CHAPTER II

At the Feet of the Master

While Madho Das was enjoying an ascetic life at Nanded, practising his Yoga and Tantras, Guru Govind Singh was fighting his crusades against the religious intolerance and political iniquities of his time. The policy of Aurangzeb, aiming at the whole-sale Muhammadanization of his empire, had not very much succeeded. The Mahrattas in the south and the Sikhs in the north had risen to be the defenders of their persecuted brethren. During the closing days of his life, the Emperor had either foreseen the grave consequences of his religious persecutions or his sense of penitence had over-powered his fanaticism. Inspired by some such feelings he addressed a conciliatory letter to Guru Govind Singh inviting him to the Deccan for negotiations. The Guru in reply sent his famous epistle, the *Zafarnamah*, inviting the Emperor's attention to his unkingly behaviour towards his subjects, and telling him, in so many words, that he had taken to the sword as the last resort and would willingly enter into peace negotiations if the Emperor were to come

to the parganah of Kangar.[1] But Aurangzeb was infirm and week, and his health was failing. And as, in addition to this, the Guru's messenger, Bhai Daya Singh, did not return from his mission in due time, Guru Govind Singh himself set out for the Deccan in connection with the peace negotiations.

Guru Govind Singh was near Baghaur (Rajputana), when he received the news of Aurangzeb's death. And, he was in the neighbourhood of Shahjahanabad (Delhi),[2] on his way back

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[1] If thou hast any belief in God, delay not in the matter.
Thou keepest no faith and observest no religion.
Thou knowest not God, and believest not in Muhammad.
Thou hast no idea what an oath on the Quran is, and canst have no belief in Divine Providence. ... ...
It is thy duty to know God. He never ordered thee to molest others.
Thou art seated on an Emperor's throne, yet how strange is thy justice and thy regard for religion? ... ...
Promises not meant to be fulfilled injure those who make them.
Smite not any one mercilessly with the sword, or the sword from on high shall smite thee. ... ...
Thou art proud of thine Empire, while I am proud of the kingdom of God the Immortal. ... ...
As for myself, I was only constrained to engage in a combat. ......
If thou come to the village of Kangar, we shall have an interview. Thou shalt not run the slightest risk on the way, as the whole tribe of the Bairars is under me.
Come to me that we may speak to each other, and that I may utter kind words to thee.

[Extracts from the *Zafar Namah* of Guru Govind Singh.]

[2] Sainapati, *Sri Guru Sobha*, 90.

to the Punjab, when the heir-apparent, Prince Muhammad Muazzam,[3] begged the Guru's assistance against his usurping brother Muhammad Azam,[4] who had ascended the throne on the death of their father in contravention of the primogenitary right of his elder brother. Like a true saint, the Guru lent a helping hand to Muazzam in the battle of Jajau[5] (18th June, 1707), in spite of the fact that his father had been his and his ancestors' bitterest enemy. He was invited by the new Emperor Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah at Agra, where on the 4th Jamadi-ul-awwal, 1119 (2nd August, 1707), a dress of honour, including a jewelled scarf, a ***dhukhdhukhi***, an aigrette, etc., worth sixty thousand rupees, was presented to the Guru as a mark

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[3] Prince Muhammad Muazzam was the second son of Emperor Aurangzeb, born of Begam Nawab Bai on the 30th of Rajab, 1053 (14th October, 1643). He became the heir-apparent after the death of his elder brother Muhammad Sultan on the 7th Shawwal, 1087 (14th Dec., 1676).

[4] Prince Muhammed Azam was the third son, born of Dilras Banu Begam on the 12th Shahban, 1063 (9th July, 1653). On the death of Aurangzeb, on the 28th Zi-ul-Qada, 1118 (3rd March, 1707), Amir-ul-Umara Wazir Asad Khan hastily called in Azam, who, on the completion of the funeral ceremonies and the lapse of the first few days of mourning, ascended the Imperial throne on the 10th Zi-ul-Hijja, 1118 (14th March, 1707), and proclaimed himself the Emperor of India under the title of *Padshah-i-Mamalik Azam Shah*. He is also known as Tara Azam, or Azam Tara.

[5] Situated between Agra and Dhaulpur. The battle-field was 4 miles north-east of Jajau. (J. N. Sarkar's note in Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I. p. 25.)

of his gratitude.[6] It appears from the Guru's letter of 1st Kartik, 1764 (about the 15th October, 1707), addressed to the Sikhs of Dhaul, that the old negotiations, that had brought him so far, were then in progress and that he soon expected to return to the Punjab. But the Emperor had, soon after (12th Nov., 1707), to leave for Rajputana,[7] and then for the Deccan, to crush the threatening rebellion of his brother Kam Bakhsh. The negotiations, it seems, were not as yet satisfactorily concluded, and the Guru, therefore, accompanied him to the south. For about ten months, the negotiations were carried on during this long expeditionary march,[8] but on the

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[6] *Bahadur Shah Namah*—Entry dated 4th Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1119 A. H.; *Hukamnamah* or Letter of Guru Govind Singh dated 1st Kartik 1764 (October, 1707); Irvine, *Later Mnghals*, I. 96; *Sri Guru Sobha*, p. 94-5; *Sri Guru Pratap Suraj*, XIV. p. 6174-5.

[7] According to the *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim*, Khan-i-Khanan Munim Khan had advised the Emperor to annex the territories of the Kachhwahya Rajputs and to distribute them among the Imperial Amirs, who weie still clamouring for jagirs and salaries. Also see Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I. p. 46.

[8] During this long march, Guru Govind Singh occasionally separated himself from the Imperial camp for missionary purposes.

> "At this time the army was marching southwards towards Burhanpur. Guru Govind Singh, one of the descendants of Nanak, had come into these districts to travel and accompanied the royal camp. He was in the habit of constantly addressing assemblies of worldly persons, religious fanatics, and all sorts of people." [*Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*—Elliott, VII, 566].

Also see *Sri Guru Sobha*, 97-101; Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion under Banda*, *Cal. Review*, 1881, Vol. 73, p. 155.

arrival of the royal camp at Nanded they appear to have broken off. All attempts at making peace for the suffering millions had failed, and no resource was left but to invoke the aid of All-Steel. The Guru, therefore, separated himself from the royal camp, and Bahadur Shah hurried on towards Hyderabad Deccan. The Guru stopped at Nanded. This happened in the last week of September, 1708.[9] It was here that he met Madho Das Bairagi.

While at Dadu-dwara[10] (Narayana, Jaipur State), Guru Govind Singh had heard from Mahant Jait Ram of a peculiar occultist Bairagi Madho Das of Nanded, who delighted in practising incantations on his Sadhu visitors and guests to their great annoyance. Jait Ram had himself been

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[9] Emperor Bahadur Shah crossed the Godavari River at Nanded on the 7th October, 1708 (Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I. 59), and, as he was hurriedly pushing on towards Hyderabad on a military expedition against his rebellious brother Kam Bakhsh, he could not have arrived here many days earlier. It may, therefore, be safely presumed that Guru Govind Singh, who, according to all Sikh and other accounts, accompanied the royal camp as far as Nanded, must have arrived here during the last week of September, 1708. Macauliffe's date, July-August 1707, is incorrect on the very face of it. The Guru was then at Agra, and upto the 24th August 1708, the Imperial camp of Bahadur Shah was still on the left bank of the Ban Ganga, far distant from Nanded.

[10] The religious place of the followers of Saint Dadu, situated in the village of Narayana [Jaipur State, Rajputana], three miles from the Phulera Railway Station on the B.B. & C. I. R. line. [Bhai Kahan Singh, *Mahan Kosh*, p. 1881,'*Dadu*'.]

ridiculed by Madho Das. He had, therefore, warned Guru Govind Singh against visiting the Bairagi. But the Guru disregarded the warning, and, on his arrival at Nanded,repaired to the Bairagi's monastery. Madho Das was not then present in his *Mutth*. The Guru occupied the only cot available there and laid himself down to wait for him, while his Sikhs busied themselves in cooking meat for their meal. This exasperated the zealous and devoted vegetarian disciples of the Vaishnavite Bairagi. They at once ran to inform him about this strange visitor. The Bairagi was red with anger and his fury knew no bounds. He, perhaps, considered the use of his cot by a stranger an intrusion upon his spiritual rights as the head of the monastery, or a challenge to his supernatural powers, and the cooking of meat in its precincts an irreligious act. In vain he called in the assistance of secret spirits; in vain he exhausted all his Yogic powers and occultism in trying to overturn the cot, on which the Guru was seated. The Guru's mind was too strong for these things. All his efforts, therefore, ended in failure. Thus baffled, the infuriated Bairagi hurried to the spot, determined to wreak vengeance upon his so-called intruder. But he came, he saw and was conquered!

On his coming into the presence of the Guru

Madho Das respectfully addressed him. The following dialogue is recorded in the *Zikr-i-Guruan wa Ibtida-i-Singhan wa Mazhab-i-Eshan* by Ahmad Shah of Batala.

Madho Das:—Who are you?

Guru Govind Singh:—He whom you know.

Madho Das:—What do I know?

Guru Govind Singh:—Think it over in your mind.

Madho Das (after a pause):—So you are Guru Govind Singh!

Guru Govind Singh:—Yes!

Madho Das:—What have you come here for?

Guru Govind Singh:—I have come so that I may convert you into a disciple of mine.

Madho Das:—I submit, my Lord.
I am a *Banda* (a slave) of yours.

The erstwhile proud and invincible Bairagi Madho Das submissively fell down at the feet of Guru Govind Singh and accepted his creed without a word of argument. He had, in fact, become the Master's at the very first sight, and now the touch of his feet had the effect of the philosopher's stone, and the dross of the Bairagi was at once transformed into the gold of Sikh *Banda*, a man or a slave of the Guru.

Guru Govind Singh clearly perceived what was yet vital in the youthful ascetic, and he relumed it

with Promethian fire. He availed himself of this psychological moment, dressed him like a Sikh, and administered to him the Immortalising Draught, the *Amrita* of the Khalsa Church, and regularly baptized him with all the rites usually performed at the *Amrita* or the *Pahul* ceremoney.[11] The ex-

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[11] **Ahmad Shah Batalia—**

پس هماںگاه اورا پاهل داده سنگه کرد وباخود بتیره آورد [ذکر گوروان وغیره صفه ۱۱]

Ganesh Das Badehra—

دراثنائي راه شخصے مجهول الاسم و نسب را مستمال ساخته به مذهب خود آوردو بر طرف ماکهوال به نیابت خود روانه کرد [رساله صاحب نما صفه ۱۸۶-۱۸۷]

Ali-ud-din Mufti—

بنده باستماع این معنی از دل وجان ارادت مند شد و پوهل گرفته مستعد هنگامه و محاربه گردید [عبرت نامه ۹۳]

Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari—

آنحضرت درماه شوال رهگرای اجمیر شد که در همین اشتیاق حربغارت و شورش بنده که یکے از مریدان خاص گورو گوبند سنگه بمساع جاه وجلال رسید [تواریخ مظفري صفه ۸۵]

Kanhiya Lall—

باوجودیکه اول وه خاندان بیراگ کا چیله تها-اس سلسلاه سے علحده هو کر گورو گوبند سنگه کا چیله بن گیا اور پاهل لیکر گورو کا سکه هوا- [تاریخ پنجاب صفد ۵۶]

Radha Kishan—

بعد مقتولي گورو گوبند ایک شخص بنده نامي مرید گورو صاحب کا معه جمعیت کثیر ملک دکهن سے واسطے خلل اندازي ملک شاهي کے بطرف سرهند آیا [گوشه پنجاب صفه ۲۰]

[Continued on page 16.

Bairagi was now given the new name of Banda Singh, though throughout his life and afterwards

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Bakht Mall—

گورو عفو جرائم او کردہ بر طبق رضائی او درسلک ارادت نشان خودش داخل نمودہ پنج تیر نیز باو دادہ بدفع شر مسلمانان فرستاد [حال مختصر ابتدائی فرقہ سکهان - ۱۰]

Zaka-ullah—

اُس کا نام نرائن داس بیراگي تها—وہ ناندتیر صوبہ دکن میں گورو گوبند کا چیلہ هوا—تو اپنا نام بندہ رکها— [ذکاءاللہ تاریخ هندوستان جلد نهم - ۵۷]

Ghulam Hussain Khan—He was a Syc by profession, that is, one of those attached to the tenets of Guru Govind (Singh) and who from their birth or from the moment of their admission, never cut or shave either their beard or whiskers, or any hair whatever of their body. (Raymond-*Seir Mutaqherin*, i 82; Briggs 72-3.)

M'Gregor, W. L.—Banda immediately consented, received the *Pahooldee*, and became a Sikh. (*History of the Sikhs*, 1846, p. 106.)

Muhammad Latif—Govind and Banda soon became intimate friends, and the former, by his persuasive eloquence and religious zeal made such a deep impression on the mind of Banda that he was initiatedin to the *Pahul*, and became a disciple of the Guru. (*History of the* Punjab, p. 294).

Panye, C. H.—Here (at Nander) he spent much of his time in the company of a Bairagi hermit, afterwards known as Banda, the 'slave', whom he converted to his own faith and baptized, and to whom he became so much attached that he nominated him his successor, not as Guru, but as Commander of the forces of the Khalsa. (*A short History of the Sikhs*, p. 43.)

Macauliffe, M. A.—The Guru instructed Banda in the tenets of his religion, and in due time baptized him according to the new rites. (*The Sikh Religion*, V. p. 238.)

[*Continued on page 17.*

he was popularly known, and recorded by historians,

Continued from page 16.]

Ibbetson-Maclagan-Rose—Guru Gobind Singh perished or disappeared in 1708, a year after Aurangzeb had died in 1707. He was succeeded as military leader, but not as Guru, of the Sikhs by Banda, the 'slave' of the departed Guru, once a Bairagi devotee but converted to the Sikh faith by the Guru's supernatural powers.

(*A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab & N. W. F. P.*, I. 698.)

Browne, Jas.—One Bundah, a Bairagi Fakeer..............intimate friend of Gooroo Govind...........went to all the most powerful and zealous of the Sicks, who had been the followers of Gooroo Govind and having excited in them the same spirit with which he himself was actuated and enrolled himself in the fraternity of the Sicks, he, with surprising diligence and activity, and aided by uncommon abilities, collected the sect together in arms from all quarters.

(*History of the Origin and Progress of the Sicks*-India Tract ii. 1787-8, p. 9.)

Forster, George—A tradition delivered to the Sicques, limiting their priests to the number of ten, induced them to appoint no successor to Govind Singh. A *Sicque disciple*, named Bunda, who had attended Govind Singh in the Deccan came.........into the Punjab, where claiming a merit from his late connection, he raised a small force. His successes at length drew to his standard the whole body of the Sicque nation. (*Travels*, i. 263.)

Iradat Khan—He [Guru Govind Singh] was succeeded by Bunda, one of his followers. (*Memoirs of the Mughal Empire*, 143.)

Lovett, S. V.—The Sikhs were commanded by a Rajput convert of Govind's, named Banda. (*India*, 34.)

Sau Sakhi—

ਸੁਨ ਬੰਦੇ ਤੁਮ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ, ਮਿਲੇ ਖਾਲਿਸਾ ਪਾਹਿਲ ਸੰਥ.

[ਸੌ ਸਾਖੀ, ਸੰਮਤ ੧੯੦੫.]

Sardha Ram—

ਇੱਕ ਬਰਾਗੀ ਸਾਧ ਨੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਤੇ ਪਾਹੁਲ ਲਈ ਹੋਈ ਸੀ. [ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਵਿਥਿਆ, ੬੪.]

[*Continued on page 18.*

by his self-conferred title of Banda, or Banda Bahadur.[12] In an instant he was a changed man. He

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Veni Prasad—

तदानुसार अमृत संस्कार करके, उन्होंने उसका नाम भाई बन्दा रक्खा। [गुरू गोबिन्द सिंह, १९२.]

Shri Ram Briksha Sharma—

गुरू जी का यह चमत्कार देख कर उनका शिष्य बन गया। [गुरू गोबिन्द सिंह, ७७.]

Also see foot-note 12; and the works of Harisi, Kamwar, Qasim, Muhammad, Qalandar, Malcolm, Thornton, Adams, Crowther, etc.

Besides these, there are many more early and contemporary authorities, who, without any exception, mention Banda as '*the Sikh*', '*chosen disciple*', '*disciple*', '*follower*', and '*devoted follower*' of Guru Govind Singh.

[12] **Gyan Singh—**

ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਉਸਨੂੰ ਅਤਿਥੀ ਸੂਰਬੀਰ ਸਮਝਕੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਘਰ ਦਾ ਸਿਖ ਬਣਾ ਕਰ ਉਸ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ ਬੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਰੱਖ ਦਿੱਤਾ। [ਤਵਾਰੀਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ (ਸ਼ਮਸੇਰ ਖਾਲਸਾ), ੨੧੬੪.]

ਦਸਮਾਂ ਗੁਰ ਜਬ ਸਿੰਘਣ ਕੇਰਾ ਦੇਸ ਬਿਰਾੜਨ ਤਿਆਗ ਅਛੇਰਾ
ਦਖਣ ਦੇਸ਼ ਵਿਖੇ ਚਲ ਗਯੋ ਵਲੀ ਸਾਧ ਇਕ ਤਾਂਹਿ ਮਿਲਯੋ
ਚੇਲਾ ਕੀਨੋ ਸਹਿਜ ਸੁਭਾਇਕ ਅਰ ਪਿਖ ਤਿਸ ਹੀ ਕੋ ਲਾਇਕ
ਗੁਰ ਬੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਮ ਧਰਿਉ ਹੈ
ਦੌਲਤ ਗੁਪਤ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਥੀ ਜੇਤੀ ਗੁਰ ਬੰਦੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਕੋ ਦਈ ਤੇਤੀ
[ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼, ਪੰਜਵੀਂ ਵਾਰ, ੩੨੯.]

Radha Mohan Gokulji—

यहां पर गुरू महाराज ने एक साधू को सिक्ख धर्म्म में दीक्षित किया और इस का नाम बन्दा सिंह रक्खा। [गुरू गोबिन्द सिंह, ८८.]

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was now no longer a Baïragi. He had now become a full-fledged Sikh—a disciple of Guru Govind Singh --a member of the Khalsa brotherhood. He had now found a true preceptor and saviour in Guru Gobind Singh, who became the centre of all his religious devotions. His monastic establishment was at once dissolved and he followed his Lord to his camp to prepare for his new mission—a new life.

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Shri Surendra Sharma—

गुरू जी ने महाराष्ट्र के एक साधू को सिक्ख धर्म्म में दीक्षित किया। उसका नाम उन्होंने बन्दा सिंह रक्खा।

[गुरू गोबिन्द सिंह, ८५.]

Macauliffe has given him the name of Gurbakhsh Singh [*Sikh Religion*, V. 238], but he has not mentioned the source of his information. The writer learns from Sardar Bahadur Bhai Kahan Singh of Nabba that he had heard of this name from his ancestors and old Sikhs like Baba Nihal Singh and Viveka Singh.

CHAPTER III

Banda Singh leaves for the Punjab

Tasting the *Amrita* of Guru Govind Singh, putting on his consecrated steel—his sword dangling by his side, and his iron bracelet on his arm, —and adopting the title of 'Singh', his slumbering energy was resuscitated, and, from an inert ascetic, Banda Singh was truly transformed into a lion, ready to conquer or die in the name of his Master. He did not take long to acquaint himself with the early history of Sikhism, the lofty ideals of Gurus Nanak-Govind Singh and their efforts in raising a nation of saint-warriors mostly out of the long down-trodden classes of the Punjab. He also heard how Guru Arjan had fallen a prey to the religious fanaticism of Emperor Jahangir,[1] and

[1] The martyrdom of Guru Arjan is generally misunderstood by historians, and is said to be due to his complicity in the rebellion of Prince Khusro against his father Jahangir in 1606. But, that he suffered for his religion at the hands of Jahangir may be seen from the following passage taken from the Emperor's own Memoirs, the *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*, p. 35.

So many simple-minded Hindus, nay, many foolish Muslim, too, had been fascinated by his ways

[*Continued on page 21.*

how brutally Guru Teg Bahadur had been executed under the orders of Aurangzeb. He also witnessed the whole-sale persecution of millions of helpness non-Muslim subjects at the hands of the Imperial officials. But, the doleful tale of the cold-blooded murder of the tenth Guru's younger sons, Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh, who were bricked up alive in a *Minar* and were then mercilessly butchered to death for their refusal to abjure their faith and accept Islam, drew tears from his eyes and drove him into a sort of frenzy.

Just in those days Guru Govind Singh was stabbed by a Pathan of Sirhind. Hearing that conciliatory negotiations were in progress between

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and teachings. He was noised about as a great religious and worldly leader. They called him Guru, and from all directions fools and fool-worshippers would come to him and express great dovotion to him. This traffic had been carried on for three or four generations. *For years the thought had been presenting itself to my mind that either I should put an end to this false traffic, or that he should be brought into the fold of Islam*.........When this [the news of Khusro's visit to Goindwal] came to my ears, and *I knew his folly very well*, I ordered them to produce him, and handed over his houses, dwelling places, and children to Murtaza Khan, and having confiscated his property, *ordered that he should be put to death with tortures*.

(Rogers and Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I. 72-3 ; Prof. Teja Singh, *Growth of Responsibility*, 35.)

Emperor Bahadur Shah and the Guru, and that the former had presented a dress of honour to the latter in token of his gratitude for assistance in the battle of Jajau, Governor Wazir Khan of Sirhind was very much alarmed. As an active persecutor of the Guru and his Sikhs, and the murderer of his younger sons, he feared that, in the event of the successful termination of these negotiations, he would be the greatest loser. Presumably, therefore, it was Wazir Khan who deputed the Guru's assassins for his own personal safety. The author of the *Chatur Jugi* tells us that the Pathans visited Mother Sundri, Guru Govind Singh's wife, at Delhi, and obtained from her full particulars of his whereabouts. They seem to have been previously known to him. On their arrival in the camp, therefore, they were not suspected of any treasonable designs. They freely attended the *Rahiras* meetings, always looking for an opportunity to do their nefarious deed. One evening, after prayer, when the Guru was having a little nap, and his attendant happened to be drowsing, one of the Pathans slowly crept up to him and stabbed him in the left side, a little below the heart. He had aimed at his heart but had missed it. But, before he could deal another blow, the Guru despatched him, and his flying companion fell under the swords of the Sikhs.[2]

2 *Chatur Jugi*; Sainapati, *Sri Guru Sohba*, p. 101-2.

The news of this treacherous deed maddened Banda Singh to fury. His blood boiled within him. He could now ill-afford to remain inactive. (He begged to be allowed to proceed to the Punjab to pull down the tyrannical rulers from their seats of power and accord them condign punishment, and thus make them innocuous.)

It will not be out of place to mention here that, but for his physical disability due to the assassin's blow, Guru Govind Singh would most probably have returned to the Punjab. He had written to his people on this point in his letter of the Ist Kartik, 1764 (Mid-October, 1707). Of course he would have gone back from Agra itself, had it not been for his negotiations with Bahadur Shah. He had now, therefore, no other course left open to him than to accede to Banda Singh's request and entrust the military command of his people to his charge.

It is not always saints and philosophers that one has to deal with in this world. In the case of persons spiritually dry, rude and tyrannical, whose conscience has been deadened by repeated acts of injustice and oppression, and whose vision has been blinded by selfishness and religious fanaticism, no persuasion, no philosophy and no messages of peace are of any avail. It is the sword alone that can purge them of their impurities.[3] This fitly applies to the

[3] *The Mantle of the East*, p. 120-1.

ruling people of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and particularly in the case of the Mughal-Sikh relations. Constitutional means and peace-negotiations, which cost Guru Govind Singh his life, had all proved futile. The sword was now the last resort, and the duty of plying it devolved upon the Khalsa, with Banda Singh at their head, of course, 'not as Guru, but as Commander of the forces of the Khalsa'.[4]

Before the departure of Banda Singh for the Punjab, the Guru called him to his side, gave him the title of '*Bahadur*' and five arrows from his own quiver as 'pledge and token of victory'. A council of five ***Pyaras***,[5] consisting of Bhais Binod Singh, Kahan Singh, Baj Singh, Daya Singh and Ran Singh,[6] was

4 C.H. Payne, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p. 43.

5 The term '*Panj Piare*' was originally applied to the first five who responded to the call of Guru Govind Singh when he instituted the new baptismal rite and created the Khalsa. Later on it was used for the groups of five selected out of the Sikh congregations to initiate others into the Khalsa Brotherhood. The number of Sikhs constituting religious and other advisory councils is generally fixed at five and those selected are called '*Panj Piare*'.

6 *Mahma Prakash*, 608 a; Rattan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash* p. 92; Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, p. V. 239; Gyan Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*; Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, p. 28. All accounts are unanimous about the first three names. Rattan Singh gives Daya Singh and Ran Singh as the fourth and fifth, whereas Gyan Singh and Bhai Kahan Singh mention Bijai Singh and Ram Singh. [See *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Urdu (1913), vol. I. p. 221; *Mahan Kosh*, p. 2676.]

appointed to assist him, and some twenty other Singhs were told off to accompany him to the theatre of their future war-like activities. A *Nishan Sahib* and a *Nagara*, or a flag and a drum, were bestowed upon him as emblems of temporal authority. The secret of his success lay, he was told, in *personal purity* and *chastity*, and in the propitiation of the Khalsa, who were to be regarded as his (the Guru's) very self. Thus raised to the position of *Jathedar*[7] or leader of the Khalsa, and strengthened by the Guru's *Hukamnamahs*, or letters, to the Sikhs all over the country to join in his expeditions, Banda Singh left for the Punjab.[8]

The mission of Banda Singh has been generally misunderstood by historians. He is represented to have been commissioned by Guru Govind Singh to avenge the murder of his sons, just as the Guru himself is said to have been prompted in his early days by the desire to revenge the death of his father, Guru Tegh Bahadur. There is nothing in the whole history to warrant this conclusion. The Guru never led any offensive expedition against Aurangzeb or any of his local deputies. In all

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[7] C.H. Payne, *A short History of the Sikhs*, p. 43:—" [Guru Govind Singh] converted him to his own faith and baptized......... and nominated him his successor, not as Guru, but as Commander of the forces of the Khalsa."

[8] Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 274; *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 90-2; *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*.

his wars, either against the Rajahs of the Sivaliks or against the Mughal officers, whether at Bhangani, Anandpur, Chamkaur or any other place, we always find him on the defensive, taking to the sword as the last resort, in self-defence and for self-preservation. A person of revengeful spirit cannot be expected to render timely help to his bitterest enemies or to the heir-apparent of his father's murderer. He was far above these personal animosities. Those, who are acquainted with the tenets of Sikhism, the writings of the Guru and the various events of his life, cannot believe that he could ever have thought to ask any one to avenge the murder of his own sons. Had it been so, Banda Singh's work should have been finished after the defeat and death of Wazir Khan and the sack of Sirhind, and he should have led no expeditions against the rulers of Saharanpur, Nanauta and Jallalabad, the Ram Rayias of Ghudani, and the Faujdars of Batala and Sultanpur. In truth the Guru entrusted to him the noble task of continuing the war against the tyrannies and oppressions of his time. And in the execution of this duty, Banda Singh, of course, punished the wrong-doers for the cold-blooded murders of Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh.

Not long after his departure from Nanded, Banda Singh had to face some financial difficulties.

To overcome them, he invoked the aid of the Almighty, and offered an *Ardasa* or congregational prayer. He was in the neighbourhood of Bharatpur, when by chance a Sikh trader met him with his *Daswandh*,[9] and made an offering of a large sum of money to him. This was a very timely help which enabled him to continue his march without any further embarrassments.

In a few months he arrived at the frontier of the Delhi Province. Here he slackened his speed and moved very leisurely and cautiously, probably to avoid detection by, or collision with, the imperial troops. For want of men, money and ammunition, he was not yet prepared for such an encounter. As he proceeded further, he became very popular for his saintly blessings and princely generosity. Common people knew him only as a deputy of Guru Govind Singh, and they flocked to him for benediction, begging for ***dudh, put*** (milk and off-spring). He would not send away any one disappointed. He prayed for the pros-

[9] Every Sikh is enjoined to set apart one-tenth of his income for religious purposes. This is called *Daswandh.* In the time of the Gurus this was verv strictly observed, and the amount was regularly remitted to the Guru's treasury direct or through accredited *Masands.* The practice is still prevalent among the Sikhs with the difference that it is spent at their individual isdcretion.

perity of all who visited him and enjoined upon them the repetition of the Sacred Name of *Wahiguru*, and thus won the hearts of all who met him. His generosity knew no bounds. He paid all in gold mohars, of which he always had some piles ready by his side. None would receive less than a mohar, however insignificant the service rendered by him—whether an oil-man supplying oil for his torches, a potter offering a few cups and pitchers, or a sweeper bringing in some fuel.[10]

Robberies and thefts were not uncommon in those days, and, as Banda Singh was advertised as a man of wealth, gangs of dacoits hovered round his camp. But they were soon driven away by

[10] *Culcutta Review*, Vol. 73, p. 156. Rattan Singh in his *Prachin Panth Prakash*, p. 94, says:—

ਯੌ ਕਰ ਬੰਦੇ ਭਈ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ । ਤਬ ਬੰਦਾ ਭਯੋ ਨਿਸਚਲ ਚੀਤ ।
ਪੂਤ ਮੰਗੈ ਤਿਸ ਦੁਾਏ ਪੂਤ । ਦੁਧ ਮੰਗੈ ਦੇ ਦੁਧ ਬਹੂਤ ॥ ੮ ॥
ਜੇਕਰ ਕੋਈ ਦੁਖੀਆ ਆਵੈ । ਕਰ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਤਿਸ ਦੂਖ ਮਿਟਾਵੈ ।
ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਦਾ ਜਾਪ ਜਪਾਵੈ । ਜੋ ਮਾਂਗੈ ਤਿਸ ਸੋਊ ਦਿਵਾਵੈ ॥ ੯ ॥
ਐਸੀ ਜਗ ਮੈਂ ਪਰ ਗਈ ਧਾਂਕ । ਆਇ ਮਿਲੈ ਰਾਣਾ ਔ ਰਾਂਕ ।
ਦੂਰਹਿ ਤੇ ਜੋ ਨਿੰਦਤ ਆਵੈ । ਹੋਇ ਨੇੜੈ ਵਹੁ ਚਰਨੀ ਪਾਵੈ ॥ ੧੦ ॥
ਜਹਾਂ ਬੰਦਾ ਆਇ ਡੇਰਾ ਕਰੇ । ਕਾਢ ਮੋਹਰ ਸੁ ਤਹਿ ਬਹੁ ਧਰੇ ।
ਦੀਵੈ ਪਾਵੈ ਤੇਲੀ ਤੇਲ । ਇਕ ਮੋਹਰ ਤਿਹ ਦੇਵੈ ਮੇਲ ॥ ੧੧ ॥
ਠੂਠੀ ਭਾਂਡਾ ਲਿਆਵੈ ਘੁਮਿਆਰ । ਦੇਵੈ ਮੋਹਰ ਕਢ ਖੀਸਯੋਂ ਡਾਰ ।
ਲਕੜੀ ਚੂਹੜੇ ਲਯਾਵੈ ਜੋਈ । ਮੋਹਰ ਖੀਸਿਓਂ ਦੇਵੈ ਓਈ ॥ ੧੨ ॥

ਦੋਹਰਾ—ਖਾਲੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਸੁ ਨਹਿ ਛਡੇ ਮੋਹਰ ਸੁ ਦਏ ਫੜਾਇ ।
ਜੋ ਆਵੈ ਸਜੂਦ ਹੋਇ ਤਹ ਮੰਗ ਲਏ ਚੜ੍ਹਾਇ ॥ ੧੩ ॥

his companions and he passed on to the Bagar[11] territory unmolested. He had so far been quiet and had followed the policy of non-interference in the affairs of others. This, however, he could not continue for long. Bagar in those days was notorious for occasional visitations of professional dacoits. One day he was informed that a gang of dacoits was marching upon the village where he was stationed, and that the residents were deserting their hearths and homes to take refuge in the neighbouring jungle. He encouraged them to stand against the marauders.[12] But the village *Panches*[13] were too timid to entertain any such idea. Fearing lest the whole population should catch the contagion of their city-fathers, Banda Singh locked them up in a house and marched out at the head of a small band of Sikhs to oppose the robbers. His attack was so sudden, bold and severe, that they were thrown into confusion and, without a second thought, they took to their heels,

[11] Also pronounced as Bangar. The Bagar tract stretches from the south and south-west of Sirsa along the western border of the Hissar District, through Sirsa, Fatehabad, Hissar and Bhiwani, gradually widening itself towards the south. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New Edition, 1908, XIII. 149-150.)

[12] Rattan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 95-6; Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, 32-33. The names of the villages are not mentioned.

[13] The members of the village *Panchayat* or committee. '*Panches*' may be translated as 'City Fathers'.

leaving for the victors all the booty of their previous plunders. Their leader was captured. All who came to his rescue were either killed or driven back. Now the villagers too were emboldened to strike a blow in their defence. Banda Singh released the Panches and ordered the pursuit of the robbers who were chased to their very homes in a neighbouring village.[14]

This noble act of bravery was the beginning of the glorious, though short, career of this hero. It won him great fame in the neighbourhood, and he was occasionally called upon to protect villages from plundering parties. He now publicly proclaimed, by the 'waving of a scarf',[15] that he undertook to protect the poor and the helpless against all professional robbers and official tyrants, and that he expected no reward from the people in lieu of the service rendered except the simple necessaries of life, such as rations and 'milk and curd.' He further invited people into the fold of the Khalsa Brotherhood and promised them a share in the conquered lands.[16] This, however, was very

[14] *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 95-6.

[15] Just as 'the beat of drum' is used to attract the attention of people, a scarf was also waived by a person who went from place to place to announce a proclamation. The 'waiving of a scarf' was called '*Pallu Pherna*'.

[16] *Prachin Panth Prakash*, p. 98 ; Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*.

distasteful to the Chaudhris of the illaqa, who were, as a rule, in league with local officials on one hand, and bad characters on the other, and, generally, had, as their share, a fixed percentage from the total proceeds of their successful raids. Complaints were, therefore, made by them to the local *Amils*. But before they could take any action, Banda Singh moved on into the parganah of Kharkhauda and established himself near the villages of Sehri and Khanda.

From here he despatched the Guru's letters to the Sikhs of the Malwa, the Doaba and the Majha districts of the Punjab, calling upon them to join with him in the laudable object of uprooting the tyrannous rule of the intolerant Mughals. His companions from Nanded, as well, wrote a large number of letters to the leading Sikhs all over the country, telling them that Banda Singh had been appointed by the Guru himself as Jathedar of the Khalsa and that it behoved every true Sikh to fall in under his banner. To appeal to the sentiments of the people, they reminded them of the cruel death of the two sons of the Guru at Sirhind and exhorted them to join in punishing Faujdar Wazir Khan of Sirhind and his *Peshkar* Sucha Nand, who had so cruelly butchered the young children. This produced a miraculous effect upon the minds of the Sikhs who were already burning with rage against them for these atrocities.

There was a stir among the Sikhs, and they readily responded to the call. They began to pour in from all quarters. The preparations of the Sikhs all over the country to join their new leader alarmed the Mughal officials, particularly the Faujdar of Sirhind, Wazir Khan, who feared them the most. Instructions were at once issued to watch the roads and river fords, and to obstruct the passage of the northern Sikhs into the Malwa districts. There was, however, no obstacle in the way of the southern Sikhs and they were, therefore, the first to rally round Banda Singh's standard. Next to the Banjaras, who came in with a train of bullocks laden with rations, joined Bhai Fateh Singh, a descendant of Bhai Bhagtu, Karam Singh and Dharm Singh of of Bhai Rupa, Nigahia Singh and Chuhar Singh, with as many followers as they could collect. Many Jat and Barar Sikhs of the neighbourhood and Bagar territory came in of their own accord. Although Chaudhris Ram Singh and Tilok Singh, the ancestors of the Phulkian Chiefs, could not join in person, they liberally contributed in men and money. A large number of professional robbers and soldiers of fortune, who anticipated a large booty from the condemned city of Sirhind, also joined the holy warriors.

Ali Singh, Mali Singh and a few other Sikhs of

Salaudi were in the service of Wazir Khan of Sirhind. One day the Nawab called Ali Singh to his presence and jocularly remarked that another Guru of theirs had now appeared; that he (Ali Singh) should join him and bring him to Sirhind to be despatched after the previous Guru's sons. Guru Govind Singh, he said, had been driven away to die in the Deccan, but Banda Singh's bones would be scattered in Sirhind itself. This cutting remark of the proud Wazir Khan was too insulting to be tolerated by the self-respecting Sikh, and he desired to be paid off. Wazir Khan was not prepared for this reply. He ordered Ali Singh and the other Sikhs to be chained and thrown into prison. But to get out of prison, in those days, was as easy as to be locked up in it. They managed to escape through the instrumentality of their jailor and were out of the Faujdar's reach by the time he was informed that they had forced open the prison and fled.

News now arrived that the Sikhs from the Majha and the Doaba had collected in great numbers in the hills at Kiratpur on the other side of the Sutlej, and that their passage was blocked by the Pathans of Maler Kotla and Rupar. They had to suffer under a great disadvantage on account of the long distance they had to cover, and for the shortage

of funds for the expenses of the journey. They had found it very difficult to raise the required money. Many had promised to pay double or treble the amount borrowed, while the others had to mortgage their land and property to the extortionate money-lenders. Their difficulties were further aggravated by the fact that the fords of the Sutlej were guarded against them. Bhais Peshaura Singh and Kishora Singh, merchants of Kiratpur were, however, of great service to them in running a *Guru ka Langar,* and supplying them with food and money. On receipt of their message, Banda Singh sent word to them to stay on where they were and not to advance out of their safe position until they received instructions from him to that effect.[17]

[17] *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 98-102.

CHAPTER IV

Samana and Sadhaura

In a few months Banda Singh found himself at the head of a considerable number of crusaders, eager 'to win the crown of victory or to drink the cup of martyrdom.' Ali Singh and Mali Singh, who had joined his camp with some more Sikhs after their escape from the prison of Sirhind, represented to him, one day, that he should hasten his operations, as all those Sikhs, who could be expected to join him, had already done so. Banda Singh replied that he was waiting for some who had been specially summoned, and who were coming from great distances. At last it was decided to commence the operations, and, with five hundred of his followers, he marched upon the town of Sonepat.[1]

Sonepat is one of the oldest towns, and was then strong enough to successfully withstand, for some time, an attack of a much greater force than that of Banda Singh. But its Faujdar had seen

[1] Situated, 29° N. and 77° 1' E. on the Delhi-Ambala-Kalka Railway, 28 miles north of Delhi.

and heard so much of Sikh bravery that cowardice overpowered his valour and he sank down under the weight of fright. He came ill-prepared to oppose the advancing Sikhs, and they so boldly rushed upon his half-hearted levies that in an instant he was routed and made to flee towards Delhi.[2]

Samana was the object of Banda Singh's next attack. He was in the neighbourhood of Kaithal, on his way, when he was informed that a small military detachment escorting a treasure of the revenue collections of these districts was halting at the village of Bhuna, on their way to the Imperial capital. Banda Singh was not the man to miss such a golden opportunity. Immediately he hied to the village, fell like a thunderbolt, upon the Mughal force guarding the treasure and took possession of it without much opposition. The raid of Banda Singh on the Imperial treasury was reported to the Amil of Kaithal, a Hindu, who at once hurried to the spot with a troop of cavalry and mounted constabulary. Banda Singh and his men, who were mostly on foot, had, in the meantime, hidden themselves behind some old walls, looking for a favourable opportunity. When they saw that they could successfully surprise

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2 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I. 94.

the enemy, they rushed out of the hiding place, lept at their horses, and, in the confusion that followed, threw many of them off their saddles. The Amil was captured and his constabulary took to their heels. He was, however, released on the condition of making over all his horses to the Sikhs, to which he readily agreed. He was further allowed to retain his office on behalf of the Khalsa on payment of tribute, and a detachment was detailed with him for the collection of revenue. The gallant Banda Singh freely distributed the booty among his followers who were all convinced of the unselfishness of their heroic leader.[3]

Banda Singh and his Sikhs were greatly encouraged by these small but successful beginnings. They now boldly marched upon the hated town of Samana, the residence of Sayyed Jalal-ud-din, the executioner of Guru Tegh Bahadur, and of Shashal Beg and Bashal Beg, the executioners of the younger sons of Guru Govind Singh at Sirhind.[4] Samana

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[3] *Shamsher Khalsa*, 4; Sadhu Govind Singh, *Itihas Guru Khalsa*, 450; Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, 105.

Bhai Rattan Singh places this conflict with the 'Faujdar' of Kaithal in the territory of Bagar, and in a different manner, after the tussle of Banda Singh with the gang of robbers. But this is improbable. The jurisdiction of the Parganah of Kaithal never extended as far as the west and the south-west of the parganah of Kharkhauda.

[4] Daulat Rai, *Banda Bahadur*, 24; Narang, *Transformation of*

[*Continued on page 38.*

was one of the richest towns in these districts and was expected to yield a booty large enough to free them from the anxiety of enormous expenses required to equip them for their future military operations. The town was mostly inhabited by high-placed Sayyads and Mughals. Twenty-two among them were Amirs of high rank who were allowed to move about in palanquins. It was well-fortified by a strong wall, and every ***haveli*** within was a fortress in itself. The Faujdar of Samana, it appears, was confident that he could repulse the attack of any enemy outside the city walls, and that, even if besieged, the impregnability of his fortifications would force the enemy to raise the siege and retire. He paid no attention, therefore, to the rumours of an attack by the Sikhs, whose levies, he thought, were too raw to stand against his brave and disciplined soldiers. But he was soon disillusioned, when on the morning of 26th

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Continued from page 37].

Sikhism, 105; Sohan Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, 46. According to the *Prachin Panth Prakash*,

ਬਜੀਦੇ ਕਾਰਾ ਜਬ ਕੀਯੋ ਸਮਾਣੀਏਂ ਭੀ ਥੇ ਨਾਲ

"When Wazir Khan of Sirhind enacted that dreadful scene [of murdering Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh], those [the officials] of Samana were also with him." [Rattan Singh, p. 102, *Dohra* xxii.] And, according to Sohan Singh, some of the Mughals of Samana "were quite directly interested in the persecution and murder of the two younger sons of the 10th Guru." [p. 46.]

November, 1709,[5] Banda Singh and his men suddenly rushed upon the town from a distance of about ten kos and entered it from all sides before the gates could be closed against them.

For hours there was regular sanguinary fighting in the streets and bazaars of the town, and 'pools of blood flowed through its drains.' While the Sikhs were busy sacking the houses of Sayyed Jalal-ud-din, and of Shashal Beg and Bashal Beg, and searching for the treasures of the Faujdar and the Mughal Amirs, the plunderers, who were following the force of Banda Singh merely for booty, were busy in their own trade. Many of the nobles shut themselves up in their strong and fortress-like *havelis*, but they could not hold out for long against the desperate and infuriated peasantry of the neighbouring villages, who availed themselves of this opportunity to wreak vengeance upon their personal enemies and set fire to their houses.

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[5] Gyan Singh, *Shamsher Khalsa*, p. 5, and Sadhu Govind Singh, *Itihas Guru Khalsa*, p. 421, have placed the attack on Sadhaura on 11th of Maghar or Marga-Shirsha, 1764 (about 26th November, 1707), and on Samana on Phalgun Vadi 5th, 1764. As, according to most of the authorities, including the above writers, the attack on Samana took place before that on Sadhaura, I am inclined to believe that the date of the former has been erroneously ascribed the latter and vice versa. The dates and months may be right, but the year 1764 Bikrami, 1707 or 1708 A. D., as given in *Phulkian States Gazetteer* (1904 Edition), p. 205, is decidedly wrong.

The Sikhs, during the last one hundred years, had been subjected to innumerable persecutions and indignities at the hands of the Muhammadan rulers and officials. They were, therefore, naturally enraged against them and 'vied with one an other in massacring them, some with a view to avenging their wrongs, others with the object of punishing the tyrants.' Thus, before night-fall,[6] the beautiful town of Samana, with its palatial buildings, was converted into a heap of ruins, never to regain its past glory.[7] Ten thousand lives are said to have been lost,[8] the majority among them being Mughals. Those who remained left this place for ever.

Banda Singh was very much impressed by the invincible spirit and bravery of Bhai Fateh Singh, who rightly deserved the credit given to him for his distinguished service in this first important victory. He was appointed the Faujdar of this place,[9] with its nine dependent parganahs. Although Kaithal had also been formally conquered, Samana

6 According to *Phulkian States Gazetteer* (1904), p. 205, it was subjected to a general massacre and loot for throe days.

7 *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 102-3; *Shamsher Khalsa*, 5-6; Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, V. 247; Daulat Rai, *Banda Bahadur*, 24; Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, 43-46.

8 *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, I.78; Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 275.

9 *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 102. Also compare *Shamsher Khalsa*, p. 6, and Daulat Rai, *Banda Bahadur*, p. 24.

has generally been called by historians the first regular conquest of Banda Singh. He richly rewarded one and all of his followers with his accustomed liberality. As Banda Singh had not yet adopted the regular method of paying fixed monthly salaries, each and every member of the Sikh army, it is said, received, as his share of booty, sufficient money to live upon for many days to come, while the surplus added much to the resources of the conqueror for his future expeditions.

Wazir Khan of Sirhind was much alarmed to hear of the Sikh invasion and the occupation of Samana. The very thought of what would be the fate of Sirhind on the arrival of Banda Singh and his Sikhs, of which the rumours were so strong, shook his whole frame. But, with all this, he was concerting every possible precautionary measure to avoid this catastrophe, and was collecting every bit of information about the military strength and resources of the Sikhs. He sent his spies to Samana for the purpose. Banda Singh, on the other hand, was not less vigilant, and when information was brought to him about the spies in the bazaar, he ordered them to be brought before him. One of them was without an eye and the other without a hand. Both of them were given a terrible shoe-beating, and were then sent away

with a message for Wazir Khan, asking him to get ready to meet the advancing Khalsa like a brave soldier.[10]

Banda Singh did not stay there for more than a few days. He intended to go to Sirhind as soon as possible. But he knew he was not strong enough to risk a battle with a much greater force of the Faujdar, far better equipped and provisioned. Wazir Khan possessed a long train of field-artillery,[11] consisting of heavy guns and zambooraks, and his city was well-fortified. The Sikhs, on the other hand, were only equipped with swords and spears, the number of match-lock men among them being hopelessly small. To provide the Sikhs with all the necessary implements of war with such limited resources when he was surrounded by enemies on all sides, was out of question. His success, he thought, mostly depended upon the increase of his strength in men, brave and self-sacrificing like the heroes of Chamkaur. This could only be effected on the arrival of the Majha and the Doaba Sikhs from across the Sutlej where they were held up by the Maler Kotla and Rupar detachments. Moreover, the leading Sikhs who had accompanied him from the Deccan, particularly the council of five, belonged to the Majha. Naturally,

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[10] Same as No. 9.

[11] Narang, *The Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 100.

therefore, they wished that their kith and kin, who had come so far as the banks of the Sutlej, in obedience to the Guru's call, should also have the honour of participating in the holy war proclaimed against the century-old enemies of their faith and people, and also in the plunder of the condemned city of Sirhind. With this object in view, Banda Singh set out in the eastern direction towards Kiratpur by a long circuitous route.

The first place that offered any resistance to the progress of Banda Singh was Ghuram.[12] It belonged to the Pathans, who came out to give him battle, but they could not stand against the conquerors of Kaithal and Samana and were soon put to flight. The town was laid waste and plundered, and was annexed to the territories of Bhai Fateh Singh.

Passing through Thaska, which surrendered to the conquerors without offering any resistence, he attacked the town of Shahabad. It was a populous town inhabited by the Mughals, Sayyads and Shaikhs, but none dared oppose him. The ruler of the place shut himself up in his fortress-like *Serai* to the south of the town. His resistance was strong but

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[12] According to Khazan Singh's *History*, p. 208, 'On his way' from Samana, 'he plundered Sanaur Ghurani, Thaska' etc. But as Sanaur is not on the way from Samana to Ghudani, its plunder at this time is improbable.

it could not stand the valour of the Sikhs, and the town fell an easy prey to them.[13]

From here Banda Singh moved in the north-easterly direction.[14] When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Mustafabad, the inhabitants were very much alarmed. They appealed to the local Faujdar for protection. He had two thousand Imperial troops under arms and ready for any emergency. These were despatched with two large guns. On the appearance of artillery, 'many of the mercenary troops and gangs of plunderers, who followed Banda Singh merely with the prospect of booty, deserted him.' But the desertion in no way affected him. He encouraged and rallied his brave Sikhs 'and made so successful a defence that the Muhammadans all fled, leaving their cannon behind them. After this victory several of the deserters returned and joined Banda's army,' with the prospect of loot, and subjected the town to a rapacious plunder.[15]

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[13] Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, p. 51.

[14] The sack of Kunjpura, the original residence of Nawab Wazir Khan of Sirhind, has been introduced here by Gyan Singh in his *Panth Prakash* before the attack on Mustafabad. He has, apparently, lost sight of the fact that Banda Singh at this time was marching in the direction of the Sutlej, though by a long circuitous route, to effect his junction with the Majha and the Doaba Sikhs, and was keeping to the north. He could not have wasted his time and energy, therefore, in unnecessarily going back to the south as far as Kunjpura near Karnal.

[15] Macauliffe, V. 247; Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, p. 51.

Banda Singh was moving towards Sadhaura when his attention was drawn towards the *zullum*, which the people of the neighbourhood were subjected to at the hands of Qadam-ud-din, the ruler of Kapuri. He was a son of Amanullah, who had been the governor of Gujerat during the time of Aurangzeb and had amassed tons of money. The ill-gotton wealth of the father spoiled the life of the son, who soon showed himself to be a veritable beast. Stories of his proverbial profligacies are still current in Kapuri and its neighbourhood after over two centuries and a quarter. There was hardly a handsome Hindu woman whose chastity had not been attacked by this depraved ruler by his force of arms. His sowars prowled over the territory, waylaying Hindu marriage parties and snatching away the new brides for the midnight revelries of their lustful master. His woman-hunting expeditions were not confined to his own territories, but, according to a story of the Shahwani Sayyeds of Sadhaura, he is said to have forcibly carried away a Sikh woman from the city of Amritsar, entering her house in the disguise of a Sikh. It is not improbable that the story might have been manufactured by some clever Sayyed after the Sikh attack of Kapuri, but there is no denying the fact that Qadam-ud-din was a terror to all non-Muslims of

the ilaqa. This was more than a Sikh like Banda Singh, who was now every moment receiving complaints from the people from all sides, could tolerate. Banda Singh, therefore, decided to attend to no other business till he had properly chastised the ruler of Kapuri. On his way from Mustafabad, he spent a night at the village of Dalaur, four kos from Sadhaura on the Barara road, to avail himself of the local knowledge of the Lubana merchants. Early in the morning next day the Sikhs fell upon Kapuri, overpowered the resistance offered, and set fire to the strongholds of Qadam-ud-din's debaucheries, scattering his immoralising wealth to the four winds. There is nothing on record to show what befell Qadam-ud-din himself, but in all probability he perished in the general conflgration.[16]

Banda Singh's next expedition was against Sadhaura. Its ruler Osman Khan was notorious for the oppression of his subjects. He was the same man who had tortured to death the great Muslim saint, Sayyed Badar-ud-din Shah, popularly known as Sayyed Budhu Shah, simply because he had

[16] Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, p. 52-5. Sohan Singh, in his *Banda the Brave*, however, writes : 'before attacking Sadhaura he thought it imperative to pay a punitive visit to Kapuri, where he seized the satan Kadam-ud-Din, and condemned him to death which he well deserved in guerdon of his dark deeds.' (p. 69.)

helped Guru Govind Singh in the battle of Bhangani. The Hindus of this place were subjected to every kind of indignity. Even their dead were not allowed to be burnt. It was generally believed that the dead body of a Hindu, which passed by the mausoleum of Qutab-ul-Aqtab, was not consumed by fire,[17] and, as there was no way out other than that by the mausoleum, most of the Hindus of the Shahwani quarter had left the town in disgust. As the Hindus were the only people persecuted by the Muhammadans and the Sikhs would willingly respond to their call for protection, Banda Singh and his companions were now everywhere appealed to as 'the defenders of the faith'. The Hindus complained to him that the Muhammadans 'slaughter cows in our lanes and streets, nay before our very houses and leave their blood and entrails there; they do not permit the Hindus to perform their religious ceremonies.' He was much enraged at this high-handedness and ordered the attack of Sadhaura.

Sadhaura is said to be the corrupted form of Sadhu-wara, or the place of Sadhus, which in the days of Buddhist ascendency was one of their holy places.

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[17] According to the *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 'The Pir's *Taboot*, or coffin, lay in the parapet of the gate below which was the passage. He who came in its shadow, fire would not consume it. May he be a Hindu or a Muhammadan, he would die like a Turk—a Moslem.' (p. 104.)

It was for some time residence of the Tusi Pathans, who were driven out from here by Sayyed Nizam-ud-din of Siyana in the Karnal District, and in the same year, when Sayyed Khizar Khan ascended the throne of Delhi in 1414, he included it in the Jagir of sixty thousand given to Nizam-ud-din. The mausoleums of Ganj-i-Ilm and Qutab-ul-Aqtab belonged to his second son Shaḥ Abdul Hamid, and his grandson Shah Abdul Wahab, who were known by these popular titles. It was about the latter that the superstition stated above was current. Shah Badar-ud-din (Budhu Shah) was the ninth in succession to Nizam-ud-din.

With the advance of Banda Singh and the Sikhs upon Sadhaura, the aggrieved peasantry and many others of the neighbourhood, who were only waiting for a favourable chance for rising, swelled the number of the invaders and rushed into the town. The angry mob, uncontrollable even by Banda Singh, set fire to the mausoleum of Qutab-ul-Aqtab, and a bloody battle ensued in the streets. The frightened Sayyeds and Shaikhs had taken shelter in the *haveli* of Shah Badar-ud-din, probably on the presumption that, as the martyred Sayyed had been a friend of the late Guru Govind Singh, the Sikhs might spare their lives. But the Sikhs were powerless. They were comparatively small in

number and unknown to the place. It was mostly the infuriated peasantry, inspired by a spirit of revenge against their persecutors, that worked havoc here as elsewhere. They had been silently and helplessly suffering under the oppressions of these people for years, and now, when their chance came, nothing short of a wholesale massacre could satisfy them. All the inmates of the *haveli* were indiscriminately put to the sword, and, on this account, the place is upto this day called the *Qatalgarhi* or Slaughter-house.[18]

There is nothing on record, even in the Muslim histories, to support the exaggerated statements of the *Shamsher Khalsa* and the *Prachin Panth Prakash* about the desecration of the graves of *Pirs*, exhumation of the dead and their consignment to the flames. The fact is that the mausoleums of Ganj-i-Ilam and Qutab-ul-Aqtab stand to the present day in the same condition in which they stood before the invasion of Banda Singh. The latter was only slightly smoked as a result of the fire set to it by the revengeful and infuriated mob.

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[18] Mirza Muhammad Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 40 b ; Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, 55-9.

CHAPFER V

The Battle of Rupar

Banda Singh now hurried in the north-westerly direction to relieve the northern Sikhs, who had collected on the other side of the Sutlej near Kiratpur[1] and were anxiously waiting for his orders. On his way the Hindus of Chhat[2] appealed to him for protection against the aggressions of the local Muhammadans and complained of their usual highhandedness in the most pity-exciting language. Their loose morality and religious intolerance, they said, were a terror to their honour and faith. Banda Singh, therefore, occupied the small town of Chhat and placed it under a Sikh Amil.[3]

By this time the Sikhs from the other side of the Sutlej crossed over from Kiratpur. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Wazir Khan, the Faujdar of Sirhind, was very much alarmed at the

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[1] Situated on the eastern bank of the River Sutlej, in the Una Tehsil of the Hoshiarpur District.

[2] A village in the Patiala State lying a few miles to the north-east of Banur.

[3] *Shamsher Khalsa*, 9-10.

news of Banda Singh's conquests in his own *chakla*[4] and his anticipated advance upon the city of Sirhind. His fears were further aggravated when he heard that a large number of Sikhs from the Doaba and the Majha were soon expected to join Banda Singh, whose efforts, at this time, were mainly directed against himself. With so small a force, as Banda Singh had under his command upto this time, he had been eminently successful in all his expeditions. With the reinforcements from the central Punjab, it was feared he would become too strong for any army that Wazir Khan might bring against the Sikhs. His only safety lay, therefore, in preventing the combination of the two forces. With this object, he deputed Sher Muhammad Khan of Maler Kotla to deal with the Sikhs coming down from the north before they could join the main force of Banda Singh.

Sher Muhammad Khan, with his brother Khizar Khan and his cousins Nashtar Khan and Wali Muhammad Khan, marched against the Sikhs. The Majha Sikhs, in the meantime, had come down as far as Rupar, where Sher Muhammad Khan fell upon them. The battle began in right earnest. But it was an unequal contest. Sher Muhammad Khan had a much greater force composed of the Afghans of Maler Kotla, the Ranghars of Rupar and the detachments

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4 A *chakla* was a territorial division.

from Sirhind, equipped with two guns and other necessary implements of war. The Sikhs, on the other hand, were small in number and had hardly a sufficient number of matchlocks. Many of them were equipped with nothing more than a sword or a spear. The spirit of the holy war, however, pushed them on, and they fought with an extraordinary courage. The fighting continued for a whole day. The shortage of ammunition might have concluded the contest against the Sikhs, but, providently, the day was soon rolled up in a dark night to be followed by a more favourable morning. Sher Muhammad Khan was quite confident of a decisive victory the next day. But God willed it otherwise. During the night the Sikhs were reinforced by a fresh batch from the nort-east, and, although they were still at a great disadvantage in the necessaries of war and their numerical strength, they prepared themselves to meet the enemy with redoubled courage.

With the rising of the sun, Khizar Khan led the attack. Confident of victory, he rushed on and on till the battle was reduced to a hand-to-hand fight. The only means of escape for the Sikhs, he shouted out, was to lay down their arms and surrender. But this excited the Sikhs to a more desperate struggle. They replied to his demand with a heavy shower of arrows and shots aimed with extraordinary precision.

A bullet struck Khizar Khan and the brave Afghan went rolling to the ground. With the death of their leader, it was all confusion in Afghan ranks and they took to their heels. Sher Muhammad Khan now came forward to cheer up his men, but all was in vain. The Sikhs rushed upon them with swords and drove the Afghans and Ranghars before them. Sher Muhammad and his cousins dashed forward to recover the body of Khizar Khan from the Sikhs. Nashtar Khan and Wali Muhammad Khan were both killed in the scuffle and Sher Muhammad Khan was severly wounded, and it was with much difficulty that he could get back safely with the dead bodies of his brother and cousins. The Sikhs were now victors of the day. But with their limited resources they could not pursue the enemy for long and remained contented with the arms, ammunition and rations that fell into their hands after the enemy's flight.[5]

Without loss of time, they now hurried southwards to join their leader as early as possible. While the northern Sikhs were fighting with the

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[5] *Prachin Panth Prakash*, p. 106-8, places both the engagements on one and the same day, while *Shamsher Khalsa*, p. 9-10, *Banda Bahadur* (Karam Singh), p. 60-2, and *Banda the Brave* (Sohan Singh), 70-4, place them as given in the text Also see Sadhu Govind Singh, *Itihas Guru Khalsa*, 455-6; Veni Prasad, *Guru Govind Singh*, 201; Daulat Rai, *Banda Bahadur*, 28.

Afghans of Maler Kotla, Banda Singh had marched upon Banur, which offered him no appreciable resistance and fell before him without striking a blow. Banda Singh, at this time, was highly pleased to hear about the glorious victory of his gallant allies at Rupar and marched out a few miles from his camp to receive them. The memorable junction took place between Kharar and Banur on the Ambala-Rupar road.[6]

[6] Macauliffe, V. 247-8: Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 274.

CHAPTER VI

The Battle of Chappar Chiri and the Sack of Sirhind

There were great rejoicings in the camp of Banda Singh on the arrival of the Majha and the Doaba Sikhs. Thanksgiving prayers were offered and *Karah Parsad* was freely distributed. The Sikhs anxiously looked forward to the happy prospect of the holy crusade against the condemned city of Sirhind and its Governor, while the number of plunderers, who followed the Sikhs to prey upon the countless riches that were supposed to have been amassed in the city during many centuries, was steadily increasing. Preparations for an attack of Sirhind were soon made. This infused a new spirit in the minds of the Sikhs and 'the heavens resounded with their joyous war cries'.[1]

It was at this time that a Hindu officer of Sirhind, who, according to the author of *Banda the Brave*,[2] was a nephew of Sucha Nand, the *Peshkar*[3]

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[1] *Shamsher Khalsa.*

[2] Page 76.

[3] A Secretary or a Dewan.

of Nawab Wazir Khan, appeared in the Sikh camp with one thousand men to play the part of a traitor. He represented to Banda Singh that he had deserted the service of the Nawab on account of his 'high-handedness towards himself and his family, [and that] he had now come with his devoted followers to join the Khalsa, with the object of wreaking vegeance.' In fact this was only a ruse. He had been deputed by Nawab Wazir Khan and his own uncle, Sucha Nand, to dupe Banda Singh with the false story of his desertion and to do away with him as soon as an opportunity presented itself. And if he could not succeed in his murderous design before the projected attack upon Sirhind, he was to so act during the battle as to lead to an utter defeat of the Sikhs. Such things were not uncommon in those days. But Banda Singh had been brought up in a different atmosphere. He believed his false story of desertion from Sirhind and allowed him to join the camp.[4]

It was at Sirhind that two younger sons of Guru Govind Singh had been tortured to death in cold blood. A brief account of this nefarious deed will not be out of place here. In the confusion that followed the evacuation of Anandpur by Guru Govind Singh and the attack from behind by the treacherous

[4] *Prachin Panth Prakash*, p. 105.

hill-chiefs and the Imperial forces on the right bank of the Sirsa, and by the Ranghars of Rupar after he had crossed that rivulet, his two young sons, Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh, and his old mother Mata Gujri were separated from him. They were treacherously betrayed by a servant named Gangu, a Brahman of Saheri,[5] into the hands of the Muhammadan officials of Morinda,[6] who in their turn, passed them on to Nawab Wazir Khan of Sirhind. The bigoted Nawab was very much pleased at the capture of the young children and ordered them to be cruelly tortured. He offered to spare their lives only on the condition of their renouncing the Sikh faith and accepting that of Islam. The brave young sons of Guru Govind Singh resolutely refused the offer and preferred to lay down their lives at the altar of their faith, which, they said, was dearer to them than all the riches and luxuries of life offered by the Nawab. The boys were then subjected to the most inhuman tortures, such as of blowing off their fingers with fire-crackers and of bricking them up in a *minar* raised for the purpose. But all this failed to intimidate them and the boys stuck

[5] The village of Saheri, about two miles from Morinda, is generally mentioned in the Sikh histories as *Kheri* or *Ukheri*, the uprooted, out of contempt.

[6] Situated 14 miles from Sirhind and 16 miles from Rupar on the Sirhind-Rupar Railway line.

to their resolution. The Nawab was much enraged at his failure to convert them to his faith. To make matters worse, the fire of his fury against the young boys was further fanned by his *Peshkar* Sucha Nand, who said that "to kill a cobra [referring to Guru Govind Singh] and to spare its progeny is not the act of wise men. The offspring of a wolf is always a wolf."[7] The Nawab asked Sher Muhammad Khan of Maler Kotla to kill the children in retaliation of the deaths of his brothers and cousins who were killed in the battle of Chamkaur. Sher Muhammad Khan shuddered at the very thought of killing the innocent children in cold blood, and rejected the proposal with horror.[8] Wazir Khan, thereupon, ordered the young children to be decapitated,[9] and, in an instant, they were butchered to death, in a most barbarous manner, on the 13th Poh, 1761 Bikrami, 27th December, 1704. The old mother of Guru Govind Singh died of grief. 'Of all instances of cruelty', says James Browne, 'exercised on the propagators of new doctrines, this is the most barbarous and outragious. Defenceless women

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7 Daulat Rai, *Guru Govind Singh*, Urdu, p. 211.

8 In Browne's, *India Tract*, ii 7-8, the name of Khizar Khan is erroneously mentioned instead of Sher Muhammad Khan. See Inayat Ali Khan's *Description of Kotla Afghans*, p. 13-4; Macauliffe V. 194-8.

9 *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, I. 59; Sukha Singh *Gur Bilas*, 393; *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 69; *Suraj Prakash*, XIV. 5935-6; Macauliffe, V. 198: *Mahan Kosh*, I. 490-1.

and children have usually escaped even from religious fury. No wonder then, that the vengeance of the Sikhs was so severe.'[10]

It was the fear of vengeance for these murders that alarmed Wazir Khan the most. He concerted every possible measure, therefore, for the protection of Sirhind and himself. He combined with him four or five noted Faujdars and Zamindars, and, to collect as large a number of men as could possibly be had, he proclaimed *Jehad*, a religious war, against the *Kafirs* or infidel Sikhs. Large number of Ghazis or religious warriors from far and near responded to the call, and in a few days an innumerable host, in addition to the regular forces of his own and of his allies, mustered round him. He collected large stores of lead and gun-powder, and mobilized a long train of artillery and elephants to meet the Sikhs.[11]

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[10] *India Tract*, p. 8, foot-note F.

[11] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, p. II. 653; Elliot, *History of India*, VII. 414. The strength of Wazir Khan's army is given about 15,000 men of all ranks—'five or six thousand horse and seven or eight thousand musketeers (*barkandaz*) and archers, and with these, some artillery and elephants.' Muhammed Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, p. 41 a, gives the number as 12,000 and says that they were specially collected for this expedition, while some mention this number as low as seven thousand (*Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Hind* p. 34 b), and even three to four thousand (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I. 95). These may be safely dismissed as incredible. The regular

[*Continued on page 60.*

The strength of Banda Singh on the other hand mainly consisted of three classes of men.

The first class comprised the true and loyal Sikhs who had sat at the feet of Guru Govind Singh himself and had been touched by the Promethian fire which animated the great pontiff himself. They rallied round Banda Singh in a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice to carry on the crusade against the enemies of their country and religion. They had no booty, no self-aggrandisement, as their object. On the contrary hundreds sold their belongings, purchased arms and flocked to the new leader, with a fixed determination either to win the fight or to suffer martyrdom.

The second class consisted of paid soldiers recruited and sent to Banda Singh by such chieftains as Ram Singh and Tilok Singh of the Phul family, who could not join the army of Banda Singh but sympathised with his laudable enterprise and desired to render all possible help for its success.

The third class was entirely composed of irregulars who were attracted to Banda Singh by the love of booty and plunder. Most of them were

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force of Wazir Khan and his four or five faujdar allies can under no circumstances be less than 15,000 men as given by Khafi Khan, who would be the last person to give even an exact number of the Muslim force against a non-Muslim. To this may be added the number of the *Ghazis*, 5000 at the least.

professional robbers and dacoits, men of reckless daring, who hailed the movement as a golden opportunity, offering prospects of plundering cities and towns instead of solitary wayfarers or caravans of merchants.[12] Among these irregulars may be counted numbers of persecuted peasants and others who rushed in, at the time of attack, to wreak their vengeance upon their personal enemies. It was this class of people who were mostly responsible for indiscriminate murder and plunder during these expeditions. They were the most dangerous and unreliable allies and were not unoften seen deserting Banda Singh in the thick of battle whenever they feared a defeat.

Banda Singh had no artillery and no elephants, nay, not even the required number of horses for all his men. Only a few of his men possessed matchlocks. Long spears, arrows and swords were the only weapons of war that the Sikhs were equipped with. The indomitable courage and unsurpassable activity of Banda Singh and his devoted Sikhs, however, made up for the scantiness of their resources. He mostly depended, for his success, upon the spirit that, he knew, would be infused in the minds of his men at the very sight of the city associated with the cold-blooded murder of

12 Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, 104-5.

the young sons of their prophet. The exact strength of the Sikh force cannot be ascertained, though, according to Khafi Khan, the number of the Sikhs before the invasion of Sirhind had increased to thirty or forty thousand.[13] This number, I am afraid, is very much exaggerated to show that the Muhammadan force was much less in numerical strength than that of the Sikhs.

On receipt of the news of Banda Singh's projected attack on Sirhind, Faujdar Wazir Khan marched out in person, with a large army of about twenty thousand men of all ranks—cavalry, musketeers, archers and artillery—and a train of elephants to give battle to the Sikhs and to check their advance towards Sirhind. Banda Singh, on the other hand, had got warning of Wazir Khan's movements and advanced to meet him. He instructed his leading commanders Baj Singh and Fateh Singh to capture Wazir Khan and not to allow him to escape alive. They were to spare the lives of the Hindus, who showed their *choti*, the tuft of hair on their heads, and of those Muhammadans

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[13] *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, II. 652-3. Ahmed Shah of Batala gives this number 'about 40-50 thousand highwaymen and rebels'—*Zikr-i-Guruan etc.* p. 12; and according to *Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Hind* p. 34 b, the Sikhs numbered 70 thousand. These are undoubtedly the exaggerations of the Muslim writers who are apparently prejudiced against the Sikhs.

who offered an unconditional surrender.[14] The two armies came face to face with each other on the plain of Chappar Chiri[15] on the 24th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1122 (22nd May, 1710, N. S.)

Banda Singh entrusted the command of his Malva Sikhs to Bhai Fateh Singh, Karam Singh, Dharm Singh, Ali Singh, and Sham Singh, and he himself occupied a place on a mound nearby to watch and direct the movements of the army. As soon as the battle began and the Nawab's artillery opened fire, the robbers and irregulars, who, though several thousand, had no common commandant and whom only the love of booty had brought together, took to flight. It was about these people that Irvine has remarked: 'At the first shock, the Sikhs, after a feeble resistance turned and fled.'[16] The next to take flight were the one thousand men of the treacherous nephew of Sucha Nand. This caused a little confusion in the Sikh ranks. Baj Singh galloped back to inform Banda Singh of the shaky

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[14] *Banda Kaun tha*, p. 11-12. According to the *Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Hind*, p. 35 a, they were to spare the lives of those who offered an unconditional surrender and became Sikhs.

[15] *Mahma Prakash*, 612 b; *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 108-112. According to the *Shamsher Khalsa*, the battle began near the villages of Wadali and Nanheri (p. 12).

[16] Narang—*Transformation of Sikhism* 106; *Prachin Panth Prakash* 109-10; *Later Mughals*, I. 95.

condition of the battle.[17] Banda Singh now rushed forward to the forefront of his army and boldly led them on to the attack. The Sikhs were very much encouraged by this bold movement of their leader and, with the loud shouts of "*Wahiguru ji ki Fateh*", they fell in a compact body upon the Muhammadans, advanced sword in hand against their line of elephants and brought two of them down. The Muhammadan force was unable to stand the fierce and repeated attacks of the Sikhs and many of them 'found martyrdom.'[19] Sher Muhammad Khan and Khwaja Ali of Maler Kotla were also killed.[20]

'The Sikhs', says the author of the *Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Hind*, 'came face to face with the Muhammadans, rapidly discharged their muskets

[17] According to the *Prachin Panth Prakash*, p. 110, Sham Singh also accompanied Baj Singh. Also compare *Panth Prakash*, 306, and *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, II. (*Shamsher Khalsa*) p. 8.

[18] Khafi Khan, II. 653, gives their war cries as '*Sacha Padshah*' and '*Fateh Daras*' (also quoted by Elliot, *History*. VII. 414; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, 95), but he is mistaken in this. This innovation was introduced by Banda Singh only after the battle of Sirhind, when he established his capital at Lohgarh or Mukhlispur. The war-cry at this time was '*Wahiguru ji ki Fateh*'. See Ganesh Dass, *Risalah-i-Sahib Numa Chahar-Bagh-i-Punjab*, p. 189.

[19] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, II. 653; Elliot, *History*, VII. 414.

[20] *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh* I. 77; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I. 96; Kamwar Khan, *Tazkerat-us-Salatin Chughtaya* 150 b. According to Inayat Ali Khan's *Description of Kotla Afghans*, Sher Muhammad Khan died in 1712 (p. 14).

and reduced the battle to a hand-to-hand and fist-to-fist contest. The commander of the Muhammadans [Wazir Khan] and some of his men fought so bravely that heaps of the bodies of the infidels [Sikhs] fell to the ground, piled head upon head and body upon body, and there was noise on all sides of the field of battle like that of Doomsday. At last the whole of the Muhammadan army was destroyed. Wazir Khan then came face to face with Baj Singh shouting "Be careful, you dirty dog!" and rushed upon him with a lance. Baj Singh snatched the lance from Wazir Khan and struck it upon the head of his horse and wounded it. After a while Wazir Khan pulled out an arrow from his quiver and flung it upon the arm of Baj Singh. Then drawing his sword he rushed forward to make an end of him. Fateh Singh, who was standing nearby, drew his sword and so bravely and strongly hit Wazir Khan at his sword-belt that his sword passed through from his shoulder to his waist and the Nawab's head fell to the ground'.[21] Confusion

[21] *Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Hind*, 35 b-36 b; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I. 96; also Ijad, *Farrukh Siyar Namah* quoted by Karam Singh in *Banda Kaun Tha*, p. 30.

According to Khafi Khan, Wazir Khan was killed by a musket ball (p. II. 653; Elliot, VII. 414; Irvine, I. 96). Latif says that he was 'killed by an arrow which pierced his breast' (*History of the Punjab*, 274), while according to Macauliffe, he fell under the sword of Banda Singh (*Sikh Religion*, V. 248).

[*Continued on page 66.*

arose in the Muhammadan ranks and the Sikhs fiercely rushed upon them. 'Not a man of the army of Islam', says Khafi Khan, 'escaped with more than his life and the clothes he stood in. Horsemen and footmen fell under the swords of the infidels [Sikhs] who pursued them as far as Sirhind.'[22]

Wazir Khan's army was totally defeated and routed. The victorious Banda Singh and his Sikhs were now masters of the field. They ascribed the victory to ***Wahiguru***, the Almighty, and their loud and joyous shouts of '***Wahiguru ji ki Fateh***'[23] rent the air. They now marched upon the city of Sirhind which was about ten miles from the field of battle. Although the city could not offer much resistance to the victors, one of the fort guns maintained steady fire for a considerable time and

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Also compare Brown, *India Tract*, p. 9; Kalyan Singh, *Khulasat-tu-Tawarikh*, p. 23 b; Forster's *Travels*, p. I. 263 ; Payne, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p. 45.

'The corpse of Wazir Khan was hanged on a tree and exposed as carrion for the wolves, jackals and other nocturnal visitants'—Latif, 275.

'He was dragged behind bullocks and was finally consigned to flames'—*Prachin Panth Prakash*, p. 112. Also see *Banda Bahadur* (Karam Singh), p. 72.

[22] Khafi Khan, II. 654; Elliot, *History*, VII. 415.

[23] *Risalah-i-Sahib Numa Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab*, p. 189.

فتح را بواهگورو منسوب کرده بار بار آوازهٔ واهگورو جیکي فتح به بانگ بلند مي کردند—

inflicted a heavy loss upon the Sikhs. Banda Singh ordered his men to silence that piece. A few Sikhs mounted the mound of a brick-kiln near the *choa* (stream) and fired a deadly volley which unmanned the enemy's gun and rendered it useless. The fort was then attacked. Five hundred Sikh lives are said to have been lost in the scuffle. A *Shahid Ganj* now stands on the site where they were cremated.

The city was entered on the 26th Rabi-ul-awwal, 1122 (24th May, 1710, N. S.), and the heartless Muslim population was subjected to an indiscriminate plunder. The sentiments of the crusaders had been very much excited by the cold-blooded murder of the young sons of Guru Govind Singh in this place. And, now, when they entered it after a bloody struggle, the memory of that ghastly scene naturally inflamed the fire of their fury. Moreover host of the plunderers, who had now rushed in from all sides, could not be restrained, and so the city lost heavily in life and property. The irregulars avenged their personal animosities in a most reckless manner and paid their persecutors in their own coin, and, perhaps, with compound interest.

The eldest son of Wazir Khan, on the first receipt of the news of the death of his father and

the defeat of his army, fled to Delhi with all his family, leaving behind him the hoards of wealth accumulated by his father. Many other well-to-do people ran off with all that they could carry away. Every one who had been left behind was made a prisoner. Only those Muhammadans, who disguised and hid themselves in the houses of the Hindus, escaped injury.[24] This punishment was not inflicted upon them because of their being the followers of the prophet Muhammad but because of their political persecution of the innocent and religious intolerance towards their poor and helpless subjects. Even the Hindus who were guilty of these offences were not spared. Sucha Nand, the Hindu ***Peshkar*** of Wazir Khan, was 'one of the principal objects of Sikh vengeance.' He suffered an ignominious death and his houses were subjected to a rapacious plunder. 'Particularly the hoards and ***havelis*** of Sachidanand,' writes Muhammad Qasim, 'had been, as if, amassed and raised for this day.........I have heard it from reliable people of the neighbourhood that during the time of the late [Wazir] Khan there was no ***zullum*** [cruelty] that he had not inflicted upon the poor subjects, and that there was no seed, of which he now reaped the fruit, that he had not

[24] Muhammad Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 20-21; Kamwar Khan, *Taskirat-us-Salatin Chughtayia*, 150 b; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* I. 77; *Later Mughals*, I. 96.

sown for himself'.[25] The booty that fell into the hands of Banda Singh is estimated at two crores of rupees in money and goods belonging to Wazir Khan, and some lacs belonging to Sucha Nand and others.[26]

'The *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* [and also the *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*] contains terrible details of atrocious deeds of the Sikhs,' writes Thornton, 'but a Muhammadan writer is not to be implicitly trusted upon such a point.'[27] Very fruitful imagination, it seems, has been at work to ascribe every kind of cruelty to the Sikhs. With the exception of a solitary

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[25] *Ibrat Namah*, p. 21.

خصوص امکنه و امتعه سچدا نند نامي پیشکار وزیر خان مرحوم گویا برائي این روز فراهم و برپا شده بود که گلشن محل نشو و نما ذقوم فردوس مکان بتخیر زاغ و شوم گردد سبحان‌اله دربارگاه عدالت منتقیم حقیقي موري ضعیف را سبب هلاک مارے مردم آزار و پشه بیتاب و توان را موجب دمار بیل خونخوار گرداند آنچه از سقه آن نواح شنیده شد ابن عزیز نا انصاف زیان کار در ایام حکومت خان شهید چه ظلم هاے که بحال غربا روا نه داشته و چه تخم فساد که براے خود نه کاشته بود که به ثمر آن فائز گردید [محمد قاسم-عبرت نامه-۲۱]

Also compare Browne—*India Tract* :—

'Suchanand the Dewan, by whose advice the children of Gooroo Gobind Singh had been murdered, was torn to pieces, with every circumstance of cruelty which savage revenge could dictate.' (p. 9.)

[26] Kamwar Khan, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chughtayia*, 150 b.

[27] *History of the Punjab* (Allen & Co. 1846), I. 176.

instance of digging up the grave—and that too to perform the last religious rites—of Bibi Anup Kaur, a Sikh woman who had been carried away by Sher Muhammad Khan[28] and buried in a grave after she had committed suicide to save her honour, there is nothing in the whole history of the Sikh nation to warrant the allegation that the Sikhs ever exhumed the dead, or 'that they tore open the wombs of pregnant women, dashed every living child upon the ground.'[29] The allegation about the desecration of mosques is equally unfounded. 'The mausoleum of Ahmad Shah [Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid

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[28] Inayat Ali Khan, *A Description of Kotla Afghans*, p. 14.

[29] Khafi Khan, II. 654.

It is unbelievable that the chivalrous Sikhs with such a lofty character, as represented in the following couplets of the *Jangnamah* of Qazi Nur Muhammad who seldom addresses them by any other name than 'dogs and infidels,' could have stooped so low. Says the Qazi :—

جزاز جنگ شان نکته دیگر شنو — که بردند از جنگ جویان گرو
که نه کشند نا مرد را هیچ گاه — گریزنده را هم نگیرند راه
زر و زیوری زن بتاراج نیز — نگیرند گر مهره است در کنیز
زنا هم نه باشد میان سگان — نه پیداست سارق دران بدرگان
به‌زن گرجوان هست در هست پیر — بگو ڈند یڈ هیا برو گو شه گیر
بود لفظ بڈهیا به هندي زبان — به معني که اي پیر زال از زنان
نه دزدي‌ست هرگز میان سگان — نه پیداست سارق دران بدرگان
که زاني وسارق ندارند دوست

[نور محمد-جنگ نامه-۱۷۴—۱۷۵]

Alf Sani], the most magnificent of all such buildings,' wrote Dr. Narang in 1912, 'still stands as it did before the battle, and is, I think, sufficient evidence of the exaggeration in Latif's statement, which nevertheless is corroborated by Khafi Khan'.[30]

The once opulent city of Sirhind lost much of its grandeur owing to this visitation. But it was spared a complete desruction when the local Hindus appealed to Banda Singh for forgiveness, and amnesty was granted to all the inhabitants for a large ransom paid by the people.[31] It was, however, finally sacked by the Sikh Sirdars under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, after the defeat of Zain Khan in 1763, and the alleged prophesy[32] of Guru Govind Singh has, of late, been literally fulfilled, as a railway contractor 'appeared on the scene and carried the

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[30] *Transformation of the Sikhs*, p. 107, footnote.

'The ruins of Sirhind contain the mausoleum of Mujjaddid Alf Sani which is a fine building to which the Muhammadans in general and the nobility of Kabul in particuiar pay visits as a place of pilgrimage.'—*Punjab States Gazetteer*, vol. XVII. A. *Phulkian States*, 1904, p. 209.]

[31] *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 113.

[32] 'His Sikhs implored him [Guru Govind Singh] for orders to burn the town. He said that the death of his sons would not be avenged by the destruction of the town which had done no harm, but that for the future every true Sikh who passed that way should pull two bricks and throw them into the river in destestation of the crime committed on the innocent children,'—Gordon, *The Sikhs*, p.47.

Also see Ross, *The Land of the Five Rivers*, 228, Archer, *Tours in Upper India*, I. 184.

the mass of old Sirhind as ballast on which to lay the iron track'. And even to this day a pious Sikh, when travelling to the north or south of that city, may be seen pulling out a brick or two from its ruins and conveying them to the waters of the Sutlej or the Jamuna.

Banda Singh now took in hand the administration of the conquered territories. Baj Singh, his companion from Nanded, was appointed the Subedar or the Governor of Sirhind, with Ali Singh as his Naib. Bhai Fateh Singh was confirmed in his appointment as Governor of Samana, and Ram Singh, brother of Baj Singh, was appointed Governor of Thanesar jointly with Baba Binod Singh.[33] With Sirhind as the base depot, detachments were detailed to occupy the country to the south, the east and the west. Such was the terror excited by the approach of the Sikhs that the Imperial deputies, whether Muhammadans or Hindus, found their safety in acknowledging and submitting to their authority and, before long, all the subordinate parganahs, yielding a revenue of thirty-six lacs rupees a year, fell into the hands of the Sikhs.[34]

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[33] *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, I. 78; *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 113; Muhammad Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 21; Ganesh Dass, *Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab*, 189; Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, 107.

[34] *Later Mughals*, I. 97; *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 113.

While at Sirhind, instances of Banda Singh's converting the Muhammadans and the Hindus to the faith of Sikhism were very striking. 'The authority of that deluded sect [of the Sikhs] extended to such an extent,' wrote Amin-ud-Daulah, in June 1710, 'that many Hindus and Muhammadans, finding no alternative to obedience and submission adopted their faith and rituals. And their chief [Banda Singh] captivated the hearts of all towards his inclinations, and, whether a Hindu or a Muhammadan whosoever came in contact with him, he [Banda Singh] addressed him by the title of Singh. Accordingly Dindar Khan, a powerful ruler of the neighbourhood, was named Dindar Singh, and Mir Nasir-ud-Din, the news-writer of Sirhind, became Mir Nasir Singh. In the same way, a large number of Muhammadans abandoned Islam and followed the misguided path [of Sikhism], and took solemn oaths and firm pledges to stand by him.'[35]

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[35] *Dastur-ul-Insha*, 6 a; *Ruqat-i-Nawab Amin-ud-Daula*, *Ruqa No.* 3.

تسلط آن فریق بد طریق بحدے انجامید که تمامي هنود
و مسلمین غیر از اطاعت و متابعت شان چاره گریز ندیده کیش
و آئین آنها اختیار نمودند تا سردار آنها مردک کاهني و شعبده
بازي بود که خود را سر آمد مردم اولے العزم و صاحب داعیه
بالجزم مي تراشید و بمکرو و تذویر نیرنگ هاے تازه بوقوع مي

[*Continued on page 74.*

Continued from page 73.]

رسانيد و قلوب هريكي در حبالهٔ ارادت خود مي كشيد - و چه هندو چه مسلمان هر كه باو رسيدي بخطاب سنگه مخاطب مي گردانيد چنانچه دينداز خان كه درآن نواح علم رياست مي افراشت دينداز سنگه خطاب كرد و مير نصيرالدين وقائع نگار سر هند مير نصير سنگه شد - همين قسم جماعه كثير رسم اسلام را بر طاق نسيان گذاشته راه ضلالت پيمودند و برفاقت او عهود و مواثيق مستحكم نمودند —

[رقعات امين الدوله—رقعه سوم
دستور الانشا ۱—۲]

Compare James Browne:—

'Neither Hindus nor Mussulmans found any means of safety but in acknowledging and submitting to their authority, and professing to belong to their sect, which disposition, Bunda, who was a man of great art and address, encouraged by every means with a view to increase his force, treating those with the most flattering kindness who came into the sect.' *India Tract*, II. p. 10.

Also see Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, p. 49.

This in itself demolishes the theory advanced by Bhai Parma Nand and some others like him. The history of the world has yet to present an instance of a Christian *Padre* converting a Muhammadan into a Buddhist. If Banda Singh was not himself a regularly baptized Sikh, his converting Dindar Khan and Mir Nasir-du-din into *Singhs* would be unthinkable.

CHAPTER VII

Ghudani and Maler Kotla

Banda Singh and the Sikhs were now hailed as defenders of the faith. It became a fashion with the people to appeal to Banda Singh for the redress of their grievances, however insignificant they might be. One day one Bulaqa Singh, a Sikh musician, who had for some time been with Ali Singh, complained in an open Diwan[1] against the Ram Rayias[2] of Ghudani, in the *thana* of Payal. This village was inhabited by a large number of Khatris who were *Masands*[3] of the establishment of Ram Rai. One day Bulaqa Singh happened to be at their village. After the evening service of ***Rahiras***

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[1] A *diwan* in Sikh terminology means 'a meeting'. The Sikhs in those days were very particular about meeting twice a day for morning and evening divine services.

[2] The followers of Ram Rai, who had been excommunicated from the Sikh Brotherhood by his father Guru Har Rai on account of his infidelity in misquoting the great Guru Nanak's holy Words and acting against the injunctions and spirit of Sikhism in order to please Emperor Aurangzeb. The Ram Rayias, as the followers of Ram Rai are called, have generally been inimically disposed towards the Sikh Gurus and their disciples.

[3] Missionaries or agents.

in the Gurdwara of Guru Hargovind, when he repeated the words : "*Khalsa Sahib bolo ji Wahiguru,*"[4] after the name of Guru Govind Singh in the prayer the Ram Rayias got enraged. They abused and assaulted him, broke his harp, and, in a fit of fury, used very abusive language towards Guru Govind Singh.[5]

An insult to the Saviour was more than Banda Singh could bear. Like a true and zealous disciple he at once marched out of Sirhind to punish the slanderers. The Ram Rayia *Masands* were arrested and punished, and driven out of their village. A Sikh *thana* was established at Payal and Bulaqa Singh was appointed Thanedar of the circle. The Chowdheris of Gharoti, Dhamot and other neighbouring villages presented *nazars* to Banda Singh and offered their allegiance.[6]

From here Banda Singh proceeded to Maler Kotla. In the confusion that had followed the attack upon Guru Govind Singh after he crossed the Sirsa, Bibi Anup Kaur, a Sikh maid servant of the house of the Guru, fell into the hands of Sher Muhammad Khan of Maler Kotla and was carried away by him.[7]

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[4] 'Oh members of the Khalsa Brotherhood! utter *Wahiguru*, (the name of the Almighty God).'

[5] *Prachin Panth Prakash*, p. 114.

[6] *Prachin Panth Prakash* p. 114.

[7] Inayat Ali Khan, *Description of the Principal Kotla Afghans* 14; Radha Kishan, *Gosha i-Punjab*, 77.

The brave Sikh woman, however, sacrificed her life at the altar of her faith and chastity. She thrust a dagger into her heart and committed suicide to save her honour. Sher Muhammad Khan, thereupon, quietly buried her in a grave.[8] Anup Kaur had not embraced the faith of Islam and had died a Sikh. She should, therefore, have been burnt according to Sikh rites. Banda Singh was moved to hear the pathetic story and said that the last remains of the brave Sikh woman should no longer be allowed to rot in a grave. He, therefore, marched upon the town of Maler Kotla. There was no one to oppose his advance. The sons of Sher Muhammad Khan with all their families and belongings had fled from the place. Banda Singh had no intention to destroy Maler Kotla because its ruler Sher Muhammad Khan had advocated mercy for the children of Guru Govind Singh at the time of their execution at Sirhind and the Guru had blessed him.[9] However insignificant

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8 *Gosha-i-Punjab*, 77-8; *Shamsher Khalsa*, 14-15;

9- Inayat Ali Khan says:—

'His sons......fell into the hands of the conquerors and were tortured to death, being buried alive under the walls of Sirhind by the order of the Subah. At the time of this horrible execution Sher Muhammad was present: he being disgusted at such a shameful and cowardly manner of taking revenge upon the innocent, remonstrated against it. The Imperial officers did not pay heed to the remonstrance; they were resolutely determined to set a severe example, and to carry this into effect, had decided upon the above mode of punish-

Continued on p. 79.

may be the favour done by any one towards a Sikh his sense of gratitude is too strong for any feelings of revenge and he would readily forget and forgive the worst of his enemies. It was under this sense of gratitude that the Sikhs never raised even their little finger against the town of Maler Kotla, although the whole of its neighbourhood was trampled under their horses' hoofs and more than once the city of Sirhind was sacked and its magnificent buildings converted into heaps of ruin.

When Banda Singh arrived at Maler Kotla, he was recognized by one Kishan Das Bania, a Hindu merchant, in whose house he had spent some time during one of his previous mendicant excursions. Kishan Das Bania collected some money from the local *Shaukars*[10] and shopkeepers, presented a purse to him as an offering and begged him to spare the town. Banda Singh, as stated above, was not actuated by any offensive motive in his expedition

Continued from p. 78.]
ment. However, Sher Muhammad's efforts......were not altogether without result, seeing that they won the affection of Guru Govind Singh who, on hearing the sad news of his sons' death, enquired if there was any one who advocated mercy to the children, and being told that Sher Muhammad had used every endeavour to obtain their release, was so influenced by his feeling that he offered up his fervent prayer for Sher Muhammad despite the past troubles he had received at the Khan's hands.'

[*Description of the Principal Kotla Afghans*, p. 13-4.]

10 Bankers and money-lenders.

to Maler Kotla. The town was, therefore, left unmolested.[11] He directed his attention exclusively to the last rites of Bibi Anup Kaur. Her body was exhumed and was cremated according to the Sikh rites.

The exhumation and cremation of the body of Bibi Anup Kaur have either been misunderstood or misrepresented by the Imperial newswriters and others, and have laid the foundation for the erroneous statements of Khafi Khan and Sayyed Muhammad Latif.[12]

Banda Singh next proceeded to Rai Kot. The ruler of this place offered no resistance, acknowledged him as his overlord and is said to have paid him a cash tribute of five thousand rupees.

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[11] The account of the plunder of Maler Kotla in the *Prachin Panth Prakash*, p. 115-6, VII-XI, is not supported by any historical evidence. There is not even a passing reference to it in Inayat Ali Khan's *Description of the Principal Kotla Afghans*.

[12] *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, p. II. 654; Elliot, *History*, VII. 415; Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 274-5.

CHAPTER VIII

At his Capital

From Rai Kot Banda Singh returned to Sirhind. There was none in the whole ilaqa to oppose him and it practically lay prostrate at his feet. The Chaudhris of the neighbouring villages all tendered their submission and no recalcitrant was left to disturb the peaceful administration established under Baj Singh, the new Governor of Sirhind. Small parties carried expeditions into the north, north-west and the south-west of Sirhind, and Banda Singh was, in a few days, the undisputed master of the territory from Sadhaura to Rai Kot, and from Machhiwara and Ludhiana to Karnal.[1]

With the establishment of his power, Banda Singh assumed regal state. He fixed the fort of Mukhlispur as his capital and a base depot for his future military operations. His choice had originally fallen upon the town of Sirhind, and, apparently, it was with this object in view that he had spared it

[1] Yar Mohd. *Dastur-ul-Insha*, 6 a; Mohd. Harisi, *Ibrat Namah* 41 b-42 a; *Chahar Gulshan-i-Puniab*, 189; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, i. 78; *Karnal Distt. Gazetteer*, 19.

from complete destruction. But being situated in the plains and on the Grand Trunk Road, it was not safe from the attacks of the Imperial forces who might at any time attempt to regain their lost power. It was, therefore, passed over in favour of Mukhlispur which had been occupied by him with the conquest of Sadhaura.

The fort of Mukhlispur was built by one Mukhlis Khan[2] under instructions from Emperor Shah Jahan who accasionally spent his summer there. It was a strong hill-fort about half way between the towns of Sadhaura and Nahan (about nine kos from Sadhaura), within the boundary of the village of Amuwal, among the steeps of the Himalayas on an elevated summit which could be approached only by craggy rocks and ravines. It was surrounded by two rivulets, Pamuwali and Daska-wali *Khols* or Khuds, which originally formed only one stream, parting into two to embrace the hillock of the fort.[3]

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2 Irvine, on the authority of '*Anonymous Fragments*,' says that 'Islam Khan (Salim Shah) son of Sher Khan Sur, in his days of brief authority, began to build a strong fortress under the name of Pawagarh. It was left unfinished and fell into ruins.'—*Later Mughals* p. 109. But the name Moklespore (mentioned in Rennel's *Map of countries between Delhi and Candhar*, 1792;) is in itself suggestive of its founder. Iradat Kahn calls it Daber. (Jonathan Scot's *Translation of the Memoirs of Iradat Khan*, p. 61.)

3 Karam Singh. *Banda Bahadur*, 431.

The fort was in a most neglected condition when Banda Singh occupied it. It was soon repaired and was given the new name of Lohgarh or Iron Fort. All the treasures of Sirhind, the booty of various expeditions and the tribute and revenue from the conquered territories were brought in here, and, for all intents and purposes, it became the capital of the Sikh territories. The Sikhs from all over the country, trans- and cis-Sutlej, now flocked to his standard in much larger numbers and swelled the ranks of his volunteer-soldiers, some dedicated to the noble cause of the holy war, while others attracted by the prospect of wealth and position under the rapidly rising power of their co-religionists.

Banda Singh was now a king all but in name. He had conquered many territories and governed them through his deputies. He commanded a large army of devoted followers and had a capital and palaces to live in. He now struck a coin in the name of his saviours Gurus Nanak-Govind Singh with the Persian inscription:—

سکہ زد بر ہر دو عالم تیغِ نانک واہب است
فتح گوبند سنگہ شاہِ شاہان فضل سچا صاحب است

Sikkah zad bar har do ʽalam tegh-i-Nanak wahib ast,
Fateh Gobind Singh Shah-i-Shahan Fazal-i-Sacha Sahib ast.

‘Coin struck in the two worlds by the grace of the True Lord; victory to Gobind Singh, the king of kings; the sword of Nanak is the granter of desires.’

On the reverse were the words:—

ضرب بامان الدہر مصوّرت شہر زینت التخت مبارک بخت

Zarb ba aman-ud-dahar masawwarat shahar zinat-ut-takht-i-mubarik bakht.

‘Coined at the model City, the Refuge of the world, the Ornament of the fortunate Throne.’

These were the titles and epithets used by him for Lohgarh, just as each Imperial city had its appropriate honorific name.

He also introduced an official seal for his *Hukamnamahs* and *Farmans* or orders and letters patent. It bore the inscription:—

دیگ و تیغ و فتح و نصرت بیدرنگ
یافت از نانک گورو گوبند سنگہ

Degh o Tegh o Fateh o Nusrat-i-bedirang
Yaft az Nanak Guru Govind Singh.

‘Kettle (symbol of the means to feed the poor), sword (symbol of power to protect the weak and helpless), Victory and Unhesitating Patronage have been obtained from Nanak Guru Govind Singh.’

Like the *Sann-i-Jalus*, or the year of accession, of the Mughal Emperors, he introduced his own Sammat or year commencing with his victory at Sirhind. All this was obviously an imitation of the Mughals with the explicit object to infuse in the minds of the Sikhs a spirit of equality with the ruling people and to impress upon them that they were in no way inferior to them. If the Mughals had their capital, coins, seal and the *Sann-i-Jalus*, they too had their own. But the difference between the two was most striking. The Mughal Emperors struck coins and engraved seals and ruled in their own names. Banda Singh, the Sikh ruler, on the other hand, struck his coins and engraved his seal in the name of Gurus Nanak and Govind Singh, whom he claimed to be his guiding angels and from whom he proclaimed to have obtained all his power and prosperity, *Tegh* and *Degh.*

In matters religious, the greatest innovation ascribed to him had rather been introduced by some of his over-zealous adherents. 'Banda Singh always declared himself to be *Banda* or slave of the Guru, but [some of his followers from amongst the] Khalsa took him to be the Guru and followed him as such,'[4] says the author

[4] *Chahar Gulshan-i-Puniab*, p. 188.

اکرچه او خود را بندهٔ کورو قرار میداد لاکن خالصه او را

[*Continued on p. 85.*

of the *Risalah-i-Sahib-Numa.* There is nothing on record to show that he ever mentioned or described himself as a Guru. In his letters addressed to Sikh *Sangats*,[5] he used the words *Sri Sacha Sahib*, not for himself but for the Guru in whose name he issued orders and appealed to the Khalsa to join him. There is no denying the fact, however, that he introduced a new war-cry '*Fateh Darshan*,' and that as it came to be used for and to replace the old Sikh salutation—*Wahiguru ji ka Khalsa, Wahiguru ji ki Fateh*—it was rejected by the Khalsa.

Little is known of the constitution of the government established by Banda Singh and his deputies. Presumably no regular form was established. There had been no time for it. It was all a military occupation. The only thing introduced by them was the total abolition of the Zamindari

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Continued from p. 84.]

گورو دانسته متابعت او اختیار کردند

'Although he declared himself to be a slave of the Guru, yet the Khalsa, taking him to be the *Guru*, entered into his following.'

A parallel of this may be found in the Kooka or *Namdhari* Sect. Baba Ram Singh, the leader of the movement, originally called himself '*Bhai*' or Brother. (*Report by Mr. Macnabb, Deputy Commissioner, Sialkot*, dated 5th April 1863.) It was in about 1867 that his over-zealous followers described him as a 'Guru'. (*Papers relating to the Kooka Sect*, 1872, p. 12.)

[5] See his letter to the *Sarbat Khalsa* of Jaunpur dated 12th Poh, 25-26th Dec. 1710.

System of the Mughals. They knew from their own knowledge that the ryots groaned under this inequitable system, and that the emancipation lay only in its destruction. 'In the time of the Emperors,' says the author of the *Sahih-ul-Akhbar*, 'any person who had been from of old a proprietor of several *pargnahs* was designated a *Zamindar*', who employed or turned out the cultivators at his sweet will and pleasure. These Zamindars, or Land-lords, who in most cases were high Government officials, were more than autocratic kings in themselves, practically responsible to no higher authority. The authorities in themselves did not interfere in their internal management as long as they paid in their fixed contribution, no matter how, how much or on what basis they realized their exactions from the actual cultivators of land, who were practically reduced to the position of mere slaves. 'The affairs were mismanaged in all the provinces', continues the same writer, 'and no control was maintained over the Government officials, or the *Zamindars*. All classes of Government officers were addicted to extortion and corruption, and the whole system of regularity and order was subverted.' The Sikhs being mostly from the agricultural class knew where the shoe pinched. The tyranny of these land-lords was

an ever-standing and never-redressed grievance. The first thing that the Sikhs should have naturally done, and that they practically did, was to strike out this evil, root and branch. The Sikhs deserve the greatest credit for this great reform by which the actual cultivators of the soil became the proprietors of their holdings, and the Zamindari System, a source of never-ending oppression of the poor royts, was once for all eradicated from the Land of the Five Rivers. During the time of the Sikh Misals and the reign of Maharajah Ranjit Singh this reform was carried out to its fullest extent, and it is therefore that, to-day, the Punjab peasant enjoys the fullest possible fruit of his labour and his condition is far better than that of his brother in Bengal and the United Provinces.

With the establishment of their *Raj*, however small in its extent, there was a tremendous change in the outlook of the Sikhs. They looked upon themselves, just as they were looked up to by the non-Muslim population, as 'defenders of the faith and country.' Every complaint from the oppressed people, therefore, excited them against the local officials and aristocrats. They considered it their religious duty to help their suffering brethren, and as this could only be accomplished by the removal of the Mughal deputies, the Sikhs, all over

the country, embarked on a career of conquest and set themselves to the task of effecting their designs, of course in their own way. Their religious instinct drove them to those gallant deeds which alone can reverse the centuries old order of things in about two months.

The terror of the very name of the Sikhs was so completely established that even the sight of a single Sikh horseman would unnerve a multitude of the erstwhile unbending officials and their followers. Every Sikh, of whatever station in life, felt to have been providentially raised above every one of his fellow-subjects and destined to be a ruler. "In all the parganahs occupied by the Sikhs," says Irvine, "the reversal of the previous customs was striking and complete. A low scavenger or leather dresser, the lowest of the low in Indian estimation, had only to leave home and join the Guru [referring to Banda Singh], when in a short time he would return to his birth-place as its ruler with his order of appointment in his hand. As soon as he set foot within the boundaries, the well-born and wealthy went out to greet him and escort him home. Arrived there, they stood before him with joined palms, awaiting his orders.........Not a soul dared to disobey an order, and men who had often risked themselves in battle-fields, became

so cowed down that they were afraid even to remonstrate. Hindus who had not joined the sect were not exempt from these."[6]

There was at this time a general Sikh rising in the country. Their conquests were not confined to southern districts alone, but were carried on in the north with almost the same, and perhaps greater, zeal. As their incursions into the Jamuna-Ganga Doab were made in the same days as the rising in the Bist Jullundur[7] and the Bari Doabs,[8] it is not possible to follow a strictly chronological order in tbe narration of events of this period. We shall, therefore, deal with them one after another.

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[6] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i. 98-9.

[7] The tract of land lying between the rivers Sutlej and Beas comprising the present districts of Hoshiarpur, Jullundur and the Kapurthala State.

[8] The area between the rivers Beas and Ravi, particularly the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur.

CHAPTER IX

Incursions in the Jamuna-Ganga Doab

With the rising power of the Sikhs, as we have already seen, good many Hindus and Muhammadans drank the Immortal Draught of Guru Govind Singh and were baptised into the Brotherhood of the Khalsa. Many of these converts belonged to the village of Unarsa in the parganah of Deoband. Jalal Khan, the Faujdar of that area, ordered all these new Sikhs to be imprisoned and persecuted. One of them, Kapur Singh of Unarsa, who had been appointed a Sikh missionary in that place, informed Banda Singh of their pitiable condition and appealed to him for help. The tide of religious zeal and victory bore Banda Singh and his warrior Sikhs across the rubicon of Jamuna at Rajghat and they marched upon the town of Saharanpur on their way to Jalalabad. Saharanpur was equally obnoxious to them 'as one of the principal strongholds of bigoted Muhammadanism.' Ali Hamid Khan,[1] a

[1] Khafi Khan, in the *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, ii. p. 654, gives his name as Ali Muhammad Khan, whereas Williams erroneously gives the

[*Continued on page 91.*

Sayyed of Qanauj, was then the Faujdar of this place. The Sikhs addressed to him a letter and called upon him to submit, in which case, they said, he would not be molested. But he was so much terror-struck to hear of the Sikh advance to the east of the Jamuna that 'although a number of gentlemen and Afghans gathered round him and urged him to act boldly and put his fortifications in a state of defence, it was of no avail. That very night he marched away from Saharanpur' and 'incontinently fled to Delhi' with all his family and property. The town people and officers were, however, made of sterner stuff and 'were moved by one spirit.' They threw up breast-works all round, put the town in a state of defence and received the Sikhs with showers of arrows and bullets. Although they offered a stout resistance, it was not very effective. The Sikhs were more than a match for them. With one bold attack they rushed upon their opponents and gained possession of a greater part of the town. The offending Muslims were subjected to an indiscriminate plunder and slaughter. The residents

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Continued from p. 90.]

name of the then Faujdar as Jalal Khan (*The Sikhs in the Upper Doab*, *Calcutta Review*, Vol. LX, p. 23), who was the Faujdar of Jalalabad, and not Saharanpur. Jalal Khan was invested with the Faujdari of Saharanpur only after the flight of Ali Hamid Khan, and after the Sikhs had raised the siege of Jalalabad. (See Muhammad Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 82 a.)

fought under the protection of their houses and 'many men of noble and respectable families fell fighting bravely and obtained the honour of martyrdom'.[2] A large booty consisting of money, jewels and goods fell into the hands of the Sikhs.

'The whole country, far and near, was in a panic. Those people who were rich enough or lucky enough to obtain means of conveyance carried off their goods and families. The rest taking their wives and children by hand fled on foot. Women who had rarely been outside the courtyard of their own houses, and had never gone one step outside on foot, were forced to walk distances of thirty and forty miles. In this way, half of the ***Sarkar*** of Saharanpur fell into the hands of the Sikhs.'[3]

They now took measures to secure the surrounding country and a party was detached northwards to Behat, a small town north of Saharanpur. Its importance was mainly due to a rich family of ***Peerzadas*** who were notorious for their religious fanaticism and the open slaughter of cows in the streets of the town. It was at the

[2] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, p. ii. 655; Elliot, *History of India*, vii. 415-16.

[3] Muhammad Harisi, *Ibrat Namah* 41 a-b; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i. 101.

request of the aggrieved Hindus, that the Sikhs sacked Behat and put the *Peerzadas* to the sword', 'none of whom', it is said, 'escaped except one who was providentially absent from the place and had gone to Bulandshaher.' 'These victims,' says Mr. G. R. C. Williams, 'were solemnly executed after conviction on the capital charge of cow slaughter, an offence easily proved against them; one which actually became the subject of prohibitory proclamations under our own Government before we knew our strength.'[4]

On the return of this detachment to Saharanpur, the Sikhs prepared to march southwards to Jalalabad, lying about thirty miles south of Saharanpur and about twenty miles west of Deoband. They addressed severe orders to Jalal Khan, the founder and Faujdar of that place, to release forthwith the Sikh prisoners of Unarsa and to tender his submission to the Sikh power. Unlike Ali Hamid Khan of Saharanpur, who had fled to Delhi on receipt of the Sikh message, Jalal Khan was a typical Afghan 'famed for his boldness and valour throughout the country.' When the letter of the Sikhs reached him, he ordered the Sikh messengers to be mounted

[4] Williams, *The Sikhs in the Upper Doab*, Cal. Rev. LX. 23; Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, 85-6.

on asses, paraded them through the streets of Jalalabad and turned them out of the town.[5]

This derision and public insult, to which the Sikh messengers were subjected, served as fuel to the fire. They now rushed towards Jalalabad with all haste. The straight road from Saharanpur to Jalalabad ran through Nanauta, but the Sikhs availed themselves of this opportunity to replenish their treasury from the riches of Ambehta which lay only a few kos from their destination. It was inhabited by rich Pathans and Gujjars. The well-known Muslim Saint Shaikh Abdul Ali Muali, who attracted a large number of followers to Ambehta and added to its wealth, was living, but no resistance was offered by any one to the assailants. The Sikhs had an easy access to the town which yielded sufficient booty to compensate them for their efforts.[6]

Nanauta was the next place to be reduced before they could approach Jalalabad. Banda Singh and his Sikhs arrived here on the 25th Jamadi-ul-awwal 1122 Hijri, 21st July 1710, A. D. Here crowds of needy Gujjars, anxious to wipe off old scores with their oppressors, recruited the ranks of the invading Sikhs and gladly embraced the

[5] *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, ii. 655; Elliot, vii. 416; Irvine, i. 101-102; Williams, *The Sikhs in the Upper Doab*, Cal. Rev. LX. 23.

[6] Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, 86-7.

opportunity to throw off the yoke of their Muslim rulers. These Gujjars declared themselves to be the followers of Guru Nanak and styled themselves *Nanak-prast*, or worshippers of Nanak, like so many of their co-religionists in the present U. P., Behar and Orisa, Bengal and the C. P., where, in many cases, they are called *Nanak-Panthis*. 'Community of hatred and in some sense of religion,' says Neville, 'made them ready to aid the Sikhs to supplant the existing power, but, perhaps, in rendering this assistance they were as much guided by their hereditary and instinctive love of plunder and a desire to save their own villages as by any other motive.' The *Shaikhzadas* of Nanauta, noted for their skill in archery, did all they could to offer the invaders a bold front, but their vain resistance only served to exasperate the Sikhs all the more. A sanguinary battle was fought in the streets and *havelis*, and so terrible was the carnage that, according to the Diary of Mohammed Zafar-ud-din, a contemporary writer, three hundred of the *Shaikzadas* fell dead in the courtyard of Shaikh Muhammad Afzal alone. Nanauta was soon a mass of smoking ruins and the day, the 25th of Jamadi-ul-awwal, is, as Mr. Williams tells us, 'celebrated in the local annals, for on it the unfortunate town earned the significant title of *Phoota Shahr*, which

has completely displaced its original name in the popular dialect.'[7]

Jalal Khan,[8] the Faujdar of Jalalabad, had already received the information of the Sikh advance towards his capital. He commenced his preparations to collect men and amunition and set his fortress and town in a state of defence. In a few days intelligence was brought in that the Sikhs were only three or four kos away and that they had attacked and besieged two of his neighbouring villages, the forts and houses of which were full of property belonging to merchants. Jalal Khan despatched a strong force of a thousand musketeers and archers and about four hundred Afghan horse-men under the command of his grandson Ghulam Muhammad and his cousin Hazbar Khan to relieve the besieged villages and drive off the assailants. The arrival of the Faujdar's reinforcements greatly encouraged the besieged. Four or five thousand villagers and an innumerable host of peasantry armed with

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[7] Neville, *Muzaffarnagar* 174; Williams, *The Sikhs in the Upper Doab*, Cal. Rev. Vol. LX. 23.

[8] Jalal Khan was the son of Hazar Mir of the Orakzai Afghan tribe, who came to India during the reign of Shah Jahan and obtained the Zamindari of certain villages in the Jamuna-Gangetic Doab. After his father's death Jalal Khan succeeded to the Zamindari and obtained, in addition thereto, some more villages in the parganah of Thana Bhawan, near which he built a fortress and founded the town of Jalalalabad. (Muhammad Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 80 b.)

all sorts of weapons, many with only slings and stones, came forward to oppose the Sikhs and engaged them in a fierce battle. The Sikhs 'fought with great courage and daring, and Hizbar Khan, with a great many Musalmans and peasants, was killed.'[9]

Several conflicts followed between the Sikhs and the Afghans. Although Jalal Khan himself did not move out of Jalalabad, his sons, grandsons and many men of his tribe fell upon the Sikh encampments and inflicted heavy losses upon them by their night attacks.[10] Jamal Khan and Pir Khan, the nephews of the Faujdar, also attempted to obstruct the progress of the Sikhs but they lost their lives in the contest. It was with the greatest difficulty that Dindar Ali Khan, a son of Jalal Khan, could take possession of the dead bodies of Jamal Khan and Pir Khan[11] from the Sikhs and gain admittance into the fort of Jalalabad.[12] It was about this time that Jalal Khan reported the invasion of the Sikhs to Emperor Bahadur Shah.

The Sikhs now besieged Jalalabad, but it was not an easy job to reduce it. Rains had set in and

[9] Khafi Khan; *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, 655-6.

[10] Muhammad Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 81a.

[11] Their pacca tombs stand on the Saharanpur—Delhi Road near Takia of Kale Shah. (*Banda Bahadur*, 91.)

[12] Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, 90-1.

the surroundings were flooded with rain water and inundations of the river Krishna which now practically washed the town and fort walls. With two or three hundred *morchals* (wooden batteries), made of planks and mounted on cart-wheels, the assailants enclosed the town as with a ring. The Afghans courageously opposed their besiegers. The Sikhs advanced their *morchals* to the foot of the walls close to the gate. With shouts of "*Fateh Darshan*"[13] they strove in a most daring way', with four or five hundred pickaxes and other implements, to undermine the wall, to affix ladders and to burn the gates but they were not successful. The siege of Jalalabad was continued for about twenty days and nights when the besieged could neither get food nor rest. There was a great loss of life on both sides. At last when the Sikhs saw that there was no prospect of an immediate success and that the calls upon them from the Punjab were more urgent, 'they raised the siege' and 'went off

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[13] In the absence of dots, which are not unoften missing in manuscript Persian writings, the words فتح درشن (*Fateh Darshan*) have been generally transcribed and transliterated as فتح درس (*Fateh Daras*), which is incorrect.

'*Fateh Darshan*,' as mentioned before, was a war cry introduced by Banda Singh, but as it was rejected by the Khalsa for fear of its being used for the old Sikh salutation, it was soon withdrawn by him.

to reduce Sultanpur and the parganahs of Jullundur Doab.'[14]

[14] *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab* 657; Elliot, *History* vii. 417; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i. 102. G. R. C. Williams (*The Sikhs in the Upper Doab*, C. R. vol. LX. p. 24), followed by Mr. H. R. Neville (*Muzaffarnagar Distt. Gazetteer*, 1903, p. 174), writes that Jalal Khan was overtaken and 'utterly defeated' by Banda Singh and that he 'lost his life together with his two nephews.' This is incorrect. The raising of siege by the Sikhs was rather represented to Emperor Bahadur Shah as victory over the Sikhs for which he was rewarded by the Nazim of Delhi, on the 7th Rajab 1122 (31st August, 1710) with the Faujdari of Saharanpur deserted by Ali Hamid (Muhammad) Khan. He was raised to the rank of two thousand five hundred in the reign of Jahandar Shah, with a further promotion during Farrukh Siyar's time. He died in Zi-ul-Qadah 1130 A. H. (*Ibrat Namah*, Muhammad Harisi, 82 a), and on about the 22nd Moharram, 1130, according to Kamwar Khan. (Irvine i. 101.)

CHAPTER X

The Rising in the Majha, and the Haidri Flag Crusade

The victory of Sirhind, as we have already seen, had served as a signal for a general Sikh rising throughout the country, and it revived in them a new spirit of independence. They believed to have been providentially elevated to the position of conquerors and rulers, and they refused to acknowledge the authority of their Mughal masters. Added to this were the orders of Banda Singh 'addressed to the Khalsa of the Punjab [to the north of the Sutlej] to devastate the territories on that side'. The Sikhs, on their own part, were only waiting, since the battle of Chamkaur in December 1704, for an opportunity to wipe off the old scores with their persecutors. 'The entire Khalsa from the Majha and other sides, numbering about eight thousand, collected at Amritsar and, having consulted and counselled together, over-

ran the territories of the Punjab'.[1] There was a sudden eruption and the Sikh volcanic lava flowed with such rapidity and force that it drove before it all who came in its way, Muslim or Hindu, official or non-official.

The parganahs of Lahore and Kasur to the west and south-west, the former being the capital of the Subedari and the latter being in the strong hands of the Kheshgi Afghans, were perhaps thought to be too strong to begin with for a small force of not more than a thousand combatants. Therefore they turned their attention at first to the north-east and occupied the parganahs of Batala and Kalanaur, turned out the Government officials and established their own *thanas* therein. These places were exceptionally rich in those days. Kalanaur is the same place where Akbar the Great was crowned as Emperor of India. It was then the residence of many a rich Imperial noble. Batala was the market for commodities from Kashmir and Kabul. The conquest of these places added much to the resources of the Sikhs and they retraced their steps and marched towards

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[1] Ganesh Das, *Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab*, 189-190; Muhammad Qasim, *Ibrat Namah* 22; Irvine, i. 103.

Amritsar is not situated at the distance of the 'about forty miles north of Lahore', as given by Irvine, but it lies 32 miles east of Lahore.

Lahore. Some of them, the leading among them being the Sikhs of Sitthala and Botala, however, pushed on northwards and went so far as to occupy the town and territory of the parganah of Pathankot.[2]

Those who went towards Lahore ravaged the country upto the Shalamar Garden and carried their arms to the very walls of the city. The *Mullas* and other religious fanatics, who were mostly at the bottom of all religious persecution of the non-Muslims and who now suffered most at the hands of the Sikhs, were flying to Lahore. Great consternation prevailed there. The Imperial Governor Sayyed Aslam Khan, a *Maulvizada* of Kabul, then ruled at Lahore as the deputy of Prince Muazz-ud-Din, the eldest son of Emperor Bahadur Shah. He was seized with terror. He behaved in a most pusillanimous manner and dared not leave the city to oppose the Sikhs in an open fight.[3]

The *Mullas* now took the lead. They raised a religious cry, appealed to the sentiments of the Muhammadans, planted a green banner, known as the *Haidri Flag*, near the Idgah Mosque and

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[2] Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 22; *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, ii. 660, Rattan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 117,

[3] *Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab*, 190; *Ibrat Namah*, 22; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, i. 79.

proclaimed a *Jehad*, a crusade, against the Sikhs. Muhammad Taqi, a relative of the late Sadullah,[4] and Musa Beg, son of Khuda Wardi Khan Agharkhani, were the most active workers. They sold off their belongings and household furniture and applied the proceeds to the collection of men, horses and military stores. Many Khojas and traders, who were known in the Punjab as *Lakhi* or millionaires, contributed large funds. Other leading Muhammedans, like Haji Sayyed Ismail, Haji Yar Beg, Shah Inayat and Mulla Pir Muhammad the preacher, though aged and inexperienced, personally joined the movement and assembled at the Idgah with numerous followers, amongst whom were also many Hindu officials. The leading person among the Hindus was a grandson of Todar Mal and son of Paharamal. At last when Sayyed Aslam Khan heard that he was being publicly vilified and defamed as a coward, he deputed Mir Ata Ullah,[5] a gentleman from the east, and Muhib Khan Kharal,[6] a Zamindar of Faridabad, to join the *Ghazis* with a force of

[4] Emperor Shah Jahan's Chief Vizier, Sadulla Khan *Allami*.

[5] Inayat Ulla, a Rajput of Tiravri. (*Prachin Panth Prakash*, 248.)

[6] This name has been transcribed differently in different books; in *Umdat-ut-Twarikh* as 'Muhabbat Khan' (also Later Mughals, i. 103), in *Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab* as 'Najib Khan', and in *Ibrat Namah* as 'Maheeb Khan.'

five hundred horse and one thousand foot.[7]

The Sikhs, on the other hand, divided their force into four *jathas* or sections. One *jatha* was detailed for the Majha, the districts of Amritsar and Lahore, another for Riarki and Kandhi, the district of Gurdaspur upto the foot of the hills; the third was to invest the capital city of Lahore and the fourth to remain in reserve as a moving column for emergency purposes. The Lahore section had its base depot in the village of Bharat, on the bank of the Ravi, where Mehta Bhagwant Rai, the *Qanungo* of the parganah of Neshta Bharli, in which Bharat was situated, had built a small brick fort. This fort, called by historians Qila Bhagwant Rai, had been occupied by the Sikhs and it served them as a rallying centre and a place of defence. On receipt of the news that the *Haidri Flag Jehad* was being mobilized, the Sikhs hurriedly collected some supplies, threw up entrenchments and put the fort in a state of defence.

In a few days the crusaders and the Imperialists arrived and so closely invested the place that the Sikhs could not come out in the open. However, they made a very bold defence and received the

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[7] Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 23; *Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab*, 190; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, i. 79.

besiegers with showers of bullets from the walls and bastions of the fort. Some of the inexperienced soldiers of the enemy approached the foot of the wall, but they were not successful in getting at the gates and were shot down by the Sikhs. There was a great blood-shed on both sides, but none of them slackened in the discharge of their muskets. As an innumerable host of the *Ghazis* and common people had collected and surrounded the place, it was not possible for the Sikhs to drive them away. Deciding, therefore, to leave the fort, they sallied forth one night and broke through the enemies' lines. In an instant, they were beyond the reach of the besiegers. The crusaders were greatly disappointed at this slipping away of the Sikhs from their grasp. To keep up appearances, however, they returned to Lahore like happy victors. But the shame of returning unsuccessful from a crusade rankled in their hearts, and they had their revenge 'by insulting the Hindus of the city and threatening their own rulers.'

'And since', in the words of Muhammad Qasim's *Ibrat Namah*, 'some of the cowards and idiots from among these [Muslim crusaders], whose hereditary meanness had not been erased by the nobility of education and who were wild with vanity based upon false pretensions, perpetrated certain abomi-

nable misdeeds upon the Hindus of the city and disgraced the Imperial officials. And as in the Just Court of the Real Ruler every action has its reward, once more that misguided class [of the Sikhs] collected at Kotla Begam, near Chamiari, a few kos from Lahore, and began their old customary ravages.'[8]

The crusade was once again proclaimed and a large force like 'ants and locusts' moved out against the Sikhs. The wild and revengeful crusaders signalized their march by an indiscriminate plunder of the villages that fell on their way, and perpetrated every kind of high-handedness upon the poor ryots. Even the leaders of the crusading force were horrified at the excesses committed and had to order the execution of two or three culprits, near the village of Bhilowal, by 'cutting them into twos with

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8 Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 23.

چون ازین جماعه بعضي تنگ حوصله و کم ظرف که از شرافت علمي خساست نسبي شان منفک نه شده بود سرمست غرور دیندار بوده بعضي حرکات شنیعه از ادعاي و عادي باطله بر هنود شهر و تحقیر حکام دولت بهر ظهور آوردند—ازانجا که دربارگاه عدالت حقیقي هر عمل اجرے و هر کرده جزائي دارد بارے دیگر آن جماعه ضاله در کوتله بیگم چند کروه از لاهور نزدیک قصبه چمیاري هجوم کرده باقامت رسوم شوم خود مي پرداختند— [محمد قاسم-عبرت نامه-۲۳]

the sword'. But this had no effect on the general multitude, who could not be restrained from plunder till they came face to face with the Sikhs at the foot of the fort of Kotla Begam.[9]

The Sikhs came out of their enclosure to receive the assailants, discharged their muskets, threw many of them off their feet with arrows and put a great number to the sword. 'The sight of the flash of the naked Sikh sword stunned the Muslim crusaders and hastened their steps towards flight.' A desperate battle was fought and there was great loss on both sides. At a time when the result hung in the balance, a bold attack from the Sikhs broke the enemy's lines and turned the scales against them. So much pressure was at this time brought upon the Afghan horsemen that they gave way and, turning their bridle-reins, took to flight. There was now panic and confusion in the ranks of the *Ghazis*, and, after the flight of the Afghans, 'the remaining Muhammadans were

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[9] *Ibrat Namah*, 23.

دریں بر آمدن اندکي بر رعایا قربات راه دست درازي هم شد- هر چند رؤسائے لشکر دو سه کس را نزدیک قصبهٔ بهیلو وال به شمشیر دولت کردن فرمود لیکن عوام تر از إنعام دست بازنمي کشیدندتا اینکه بپاے قلعه رسیده بجنگ در پیوستند-

[محمد قاسم-عبرت نامه-۳۲]

Also see *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 249-55.

unable to hold their own.[10] They lost all courage. Most of them fell on the field of destruction and gave their lives in a most cowardly manner.' Sayyed Inayat, Muhammad Taqi, and Muhammad Zaman, a Ranghar Rajput, rendered creditable service at this time, but were defeated with great slaughter. High wind and heavy rain came on with the close of the day and, 'as day-light disappeared, the fighting died down, and during the night the Muhammadan force melted away into nothingness.'[11]

The crusaders returned towards Lahore crest-fallen. But their misfortunes had not ended as yet.

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[10] Muhammad Qasim, on the authority of some informant, ascribes the flight of the Afghans to treachery on their part, and says that they 'were secretly disaffected owing to the governor's exactions, and are said to have come to an understanding with the Sikh leaders, who were their neighbours.' [*Ibrat Namah*, 23; *Later Mughals*, i. 104.] The fact that Muhammad Qasim throws the responsibility of its truth or falsehood on 'the neck of his informant' ثواب و عذاب بر گردن راوي—throws a doubt on its credibility. Nor can it be easily believed that the Afghans could desert the cause of Islam in a crusade against the 'infidels.' The question of a secret understanding may, therefore, be safely dismissed as incredible. It is in all probability the invention of some fertile brain with a view to suggesting that, but for treachery in their ranks, the forces of Islam could not have been defeated by the Sikhs.

[11] Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 22-24 ; *Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab* 190-2; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, i. 79-80. Kanhayalal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, 60; Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 275 ; *Later Mughals*, i. 103-4.

Another blow, and perhaps the severest of all, was still waiting for them. On their way back they stopped at the village of Bhilowal for a night's rest. The regular soldiers were lodged in the fort and the others lay down to sleep in an open place, unmindful of any fear from the Sikhs. The Sikhs, on the other hand, were cautiously and secretly pursuing them closely with the intention of striking another blow before they could get to Lahore. Early on the following morning, before day-break, they issued forth from the neighbouring bushes and pounced upon the crusaders who were taken unawares. The Muhammadans offered no united front and most of them were cut down before they could be ready for resistance. In the chaos and confusion that prevailed among them on account of this sudden attack, every one fled for his life in whatever direction his legs could carry him, and the Sikhs availed themselves of this opportunity to deal so heavy a blow upon their flying and scattered enemy as they could. Seeing the shattered condition of the crusaders in a shelterless plain outside the village, Ataulla got on the top of a house and called out to them to run into the village for safety. But the Sikhs had by now done their work and hardly was there any one outside who escaped without tasting of the Sikh steel. This served as the last straw

to break the camel's back. The crusaders now dispersed to their homes and their leaders returned to Lahore 'hiding their faces.'[12]

The exact losses of the Muhammadans and the Sikhs at Bhilowal cannot be ascertained, but there is no denying the fact that the crusaders lost very heavily in men and horses. Several hundereds of them, including Murtaza Khan and the grandson of Todar Mal, the leader of the Hindu allies, were killed, and horses and property worth several thousands fell into the hands of the Sikhs.

The Sikhs now carried on their conquests more extensively and, except the occupation of Lahore proper, practically the whole of the territory in the Majha and the Rearki tracts lay prostrate at their feet. More than once the Muhammadans appealed to their religious leaders to gird up their loins for revenge, but they dared not take the risk, and simply replied in the words of Poet Hafiz:

The Kings know the secrets of diplomacy;
A faqir knows the secrets of seclusion;

[12] *Prachin Panth Prakash* of Rattan Singh, and the *Panth Prakash* and the *Twarikh* of Gyan Singh place the Haidri Flag Crusade long after the death of Banda Singh, but I have here followed the *Ibrat Namah* of Muhammad Qasim, a contemporary writer, and the *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* and the *Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab* based on original sources.

and you, oh Hafiz! look to your own protection'.[13]

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[13] *Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab.*

مردم خالصه یکبار از احاطه بدر آمده تفنگ سردادند—
بسیاري را به تیر از پا فگندند واکثرے را از تیغ گذرانیدند—
عوام به تماشائي برهنگی صمصام دل باخته بگریزان گریز تیز گام
شدند و هزیمت را غنیمت شمرده باوطان و مساکن خودها متفرق
و پریشان شدند و بزرگان مسلمانان رو پوشیده و رخ نهفته بشهر
در آمدند و خالصه زیاده تر بهر طرف رفته ملک میگرفتند و
مال را تصرف مي نمودند—بعضے مردمان به نرمي زبان پیش
بزرگان دین عرض میکردند که کفره بے آئین بے حرمتي مسلمین
زیاده تر مي کنند کمر بانتقام کین دار بستن بهترین و خوب
ترین است بجواب آن چنین به چنین بوده مي فرمودند—

رموز مصلحت ملک خسروان دانند
گدائی گوشه نشینی تو حافظا مخروش

CHAPTER XI

Disturbances in the Jullundur Doab and the Battle of Rahon

Let us next trace the activities of the Sikhs in another direction. The Doaba of Bist Jullundur, comprising the present districts of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur, being on the border of the province of Sirhind, which had been conquered and occupied by Banda Singh, was the first to be electrified with the spirit of rising and independence. Following the footsteps of their brethren in the south, the Sikhs of this ilaqa embarked on a career of conquest. In addition to the Sikhs, who considered it as one of those religious wars of defence that they had fought under the command of Guru Govind Singh himself, all other malcontents, who had suffered at the hands of local officials, were now up in arms against them. In a few weeks many of the petty officials in the districts of the Jullundur Doab were turned out and Sikh Tehsildars and Thanedars were appointed in their places.[1] The main Sikh force, as

[1] Ganesh Das, *Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab*, p. 189.

we know, was at this time occupied in the affairs of Sirhind, the southern Malwa districts and in the incursions in the Gangetic Doab. Only the local Sikhs and a small detachment from the south, sent across the Sutlej to help them, were trying their hands at conquest in this ilaqa.

Shamas Khan, a Khalafzai Pathan of Kasur, was then the Faujdar of the Jullundur Doab. He was the only son of Peer Khan, whose father Sultan Ahmad Khan Khalafzai had rendered yeoman's service to Prince Muhammad Azam. Of the four sons of Sultan Ahmad Khan, Hussain Khan, Bayzid Khan (Qutab-ud-Din Khan), Peer Khan and Ali Khan, the fourth Ali Khan is not much known to history. Hussain Khan was shrewd enough in carving out a principality for himself during the governorship of Abdu-s-Samad Khan of Lahore, but his career was soon cut short in the battle of Chuhnian on the 6th Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 1133 (4th April, 1721), in the second year of Muhammad Shah's reign. Of Bayzid Khan we will have a great deal to say in the following chapters. Peer Khan held high rank under Bahadur Shah and it was in recognition of his meritorious services that, after his death, his son Nur Khan, under the popular title of Shamas Khan (also known as Shamas-ud-Din Khan), obtained the Faujdari of Doaba Bist

Jullunder with his capital at Sultanprur.[2]

Encouraged by their successes, the Sikhs considered themselves strong enough to challenge the Faujdar himself. As usual,[3] they addressed a letter to Shamas Khan in the form of a *parwana*[4] calling upon him to submit, to carry out certain reforms and to come out to receive them, bringing with him all the treasury he had. They despatched this letter to him by two Sikhs. Shamas Khan consulted his nobles and military officials, who all took oaths of fidelity and unity to stand by him till their last breath, and they brought the holy word of the Quran between them to be their witness. To gain time for his warlike preparations, he gave the messengers an evasive reply that he would soon come to meet the Sikhs. He also sent to them a little quantity of lead and powder and wrote to them that he could not send more for want of conveyance which he required for his friends and

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[2] Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maasir-ul-Umra*—'Hussain Khan,' Vol. I. p. 600-5, 'Qutub-ud-din Khan (Bayzid Khan) Kheshgi', Vol. III. p. 126-30. According to Danishmand Khan, Shamas Khan Kheshgi was made Shamas-ud-din Khan and, on joining the Imperial service, was given the rank of 500, 150 horse.—Entry of 24th Zi-ul-Hijj, 1119, 2nd year of Bahadur Shah's reign,—17/18 March 1708; Irvine. i. 97.

[3] It was a general practice with Banda Singh and the Sikhs to inform their opponents of their intentions, by a letter, calling upon them either to submit to the power of the Khalsa or to be prepared for war. (Khafi Khan, *Muntakhi-ul-Lubab.*)

[4] An official letter from a superior officer to his subordinate.

nobles. The merchants in the Bazaar and the government stores, he said, had heaps of powder, which could be supplied in any quantity provided sufficient arrangements were made for conveyance.[5]

Shamas Khan was a clever man. He knew that appeal to the sentiments of the Muslims, in the name of Islam, could bring in much larger following to his standard. He, therefore, proclaimed, by beat of drum, a *Jehad* against the Sikhs.

The call of religion had the desired effect upon the simple-minded farmers and *julahas*. 'Gentlemen of every tribe, ryots and artisans, mostly from among the *bafindas* (*julahas* or weavers)', says Khafi Khan, 'girded up their loins, with the intention of obtaining martyrdom, and leaving all hopes of life and property and families, they pledged themselves upon the Word of God, the Al-Quran, as allies, and contributed money towards the expenses. More than a hundred thousand men were collected and they marched out from Sultanpur with great display.' In addition to this innumerable host of crusaders, Shamas Khan proceeded against the Sikhs at the head of four to five thousand horse, and about thirty thousand infantry, armed with matchlocks, bows and other weapons, out of his

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5 *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, iii. 657; Elliot, vii. 417; Irvine, i. 99.

old troops and newly-raised levies which had come in with the Zamindars from all sides.[6]

The Sikhs, on the other hand, were rejoicing child-like over the reply of Shamas Khan, whose submission, they thought, would soon be followed by that of all other petty officials resulting in the subjugation of the whole of the remaining ilaqa. But they were soon disillusioned on hearing of the preparations of Shamas Khan for an anti-Sikh crusade. On hearing of these proceedings and of the advance of Shamas Khan with such an army and all the equipments of war, the Sikhs moved with all their force, numbering seventy to eighty thousand[7] horse and foot. They had with them the cannon, that they had carried from Sirhind, and much other material like planks and sand-bags for preparing batteries, with cart-loads of lead and powder. In all probability it was at this time that they called upon Banda Singh and the Sikhs in the Gangetic Doab to hurry to the Punjab. As they came to the town of Rahon, about seven kos from Sultanpur, they occupied the mounds of some old brick-kilns lying to the north-west. They used this brick-debris as

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[6] *Maasir-ul-Umra,* Vol. iii. 127; Harisi, *Ibrat Namah* 42a; *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab,* ii. 658.

[7] The number of the Sikh force here seems, as usual, to have been very much exaggerated by Khafi Khan.

[8] Irvine *(Later Mughals,* i. 100*)* gives the distance between Rahon and Sultanpore as fity miles, which is incorrect.

a *garhi* (a fortress) and, throwing lines of entrenchments round their camp,* made ready for war. From here, as Khafi Khan tells us, the Sikhs 'sent out patrols in all directions and issued threatening orders to the *Chaudhris*, the revenue payers, and the *Qanungos*, the revenue officers, calling upon them to submit.

The allies and followers of Shamas Khan encouraged each other saying: 'in the event of Shamas Khan's defeat and death, lives, property and families of all of us will be lost', and boldly advanced to attack the Sikhs. As they came within the Sikhs' cannon shot, about three hours after sunrise, the battle began with a discharge from guns and muskets. About ten or twelve thousand balls and stones from slings came all at once rattling like hail upon the forces of Islam. The crusaders were swarming like locusts from all sides and rushing in with the cries of *Allah-u-Akbar*. Shamas Khan warned them against haste and ordered a steady advance. After two volleys from the Sikhs, the Muslim regulars, supported by forty to fifty thousand crusaders, charged them. The Sikhs were outnumbered and, therefore, they thought it best to retire upon the fort of Rahon[9] which they had previously occupied.

* At this site now stands the Government High School Rahon.

The fort of Rahon was invested for several days. The Sikhs rushed out of it in small parties at night and attacked the besieging forces, inflicting heavy losses upon them in men and horses. But their number was too large to be thinned or affected by these sorties. The Sikhs, therefore, thought of tricking the enemy with tactics peculiar to themselves, and, in the darkness of a night, they slipped away from their entrenchments. Shamas Khan did not risk a pursuit of them beyond a few miles and was quite contented with a gun and some loaded camels and oxen that fell into his hands. Apparently he felt tired and was looking for an opportunity to leave the Siks alone, especially when he thought of their being reinforced by the terrible Banda Singh, the conqueror of Sadhanra, Sirhind and Saharanpur. He, therefore, ordered the breaking up of the camp and marched away from Rahon before day-break and returned in triumph to Sultanpur. The crusaders were demobilized and sent to their homes.

But the Sikhs had not quitted the neighbourhood of Rahon. They were only lurking in the neighbouring bushes. In the morning, only a few hours after the evacuation, a thousand of them rushed upon and attacked the garrison, placed by Shamas Khan in the thana (fort) of Rahon, drove them out, occupied the fort, and established

themselves therein.[10]

This tactic of war, which is peculiarly a Sikh tactic and has so often been used by them in their wars with the Mughals, the Durranis and the local officials, has generally been misunderstood and misinterpreted into a defeat. Their trick-flights were many a time mistaken for their actual flights, and under this impression the enemy followed them up, but they were soon disillusioned on finding the Sikhs turning upon their heels, pouncing upon their pursures and cutting them down to the last man. It was after such practical experiences that Qazi Nur Mohammad Gunjabavi, the author of the *Jangnamah*, warns his co-religionists against this tactic of the Sikhs, and says[11] :—

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10 *Muntakkib-ul-Lubab*; Elliot, *History*, vii. 418-9; Irvine, i. 100.

11 It will not be without interest to quote here the actual words of Qazi Nur Mohammad's *Jangnamah* the translation of which has been given above. Writes the Qazi :—

هزیمت گر اُفتد در افواج شان تو آن را هزیمت مدان ایجوان
که آن خدعه هست از جنگ شان حذر کن حذر کن دو باره ازان
که این خدعه شان بود این چنین که چیره شود خصم در خشم کین
بتازد پس ایشان از لشکرش جدا ماند از کومک در یاورش
ازان پس بگردند رو پس کنند اگر آب باشد در آتش زنند
ندیدي که از پیش خان در ستیز گرفتند از مکر راه گریز
دگر بار گشتند از دور خان گرفتند چون حلقه اش در میان

'If defeat befalls their armies, take it not as a defeat, oh youth.
Because it is a war-tactic of theirs. Beware beware, of it !
Their tactic is such that in wreaking vengeance, their defeat is changed into victory.
The army that pursues them is cut off from reinforcement.
Then they [the Sikhs] turn upon their heels, and, even if their pursuers be 'water', they set fire to it.
Did you not witness how during the battle they took to flight to deceive [their pursuers]?
And then they drew a cordon round the Khan and caught (enclosed) him in such a manner as if he were taken in a circle.'

The battle of Rahon was fought on the 19th of Shaban, 1122 (11th October, 1710), and the report of Shamas Khan was received by Emperor Bahadur Shah on the 4th of Ramzan, 1122 (25th October, 1710 N. S.), while he was encamped near Sonepat.[12]

[12] Kamwar Khan, *Tazkirat-ul-Salatin Chugtayia,*—Entry of 4th Ramzan 1122. The actual words of the entry are:—

چهارم رمضان سنه ۱۱۲۲ هجری بعرض رسید که شمس الدین فوجدار بست جالندهر با مقاهیر نوز دهم شعبان محاربه کرد بسیارے را ته تیغ کشیده ظفر یافته

[*Continued on p. 121.*

After the occupation of Rahon, the Sikhs moved on to Jullundur. The Pathans of this place were so terrified that they found their safety in flying away from it, and it fell into the hands of the Sikhs without any resistance from the officials and residents. Hoshiarpur followed suit, and, like all others of the neighbourhood, its ruler acknowledged the authority of the conquerors. Thus, before long, practically the whole of the Bist Jullundur Doab came under the sway of the Sikhs. Shamas Khan himself was not allowed to remain at rest at Sultanpur, and according to the *Maasir-ul-Umra*, twenty-two battles were fought between the Sikhs and himself.

To summarise the whole situation at this stage, it stood thus: there was a general Sikh rising throughout the eastern and south-eastern Punjab;

Continued from p. 120.]
'4th (Ramzan),—
It was reported that Shamas-ud-din Khan Faujdar of Bist Jullundur fought a battle with the condemned on the 19th Shaban, killed many and obtained victory.' Irvine, in his *Later Mughals*, i. 101, has mistaken the date of the battle, and that also with a day's difference, with the date of the receipt of the report, and says : 'The Report of Shamas Khan [entitled Shamas-ud-din-Khan] was received by the Emperor on the 18th Shaban 1122, 11th October 1710.—Kamwar Khan, Entry of that date.'

Karam Singh in *Banda Kaun tha* has followed Irvine. Burgess, *Chronology of India*, p. 151, places this battle in 1708, which is incorrect.

except the city of Lahore which was held by the Imperial Governor and the leading aristocrats, the whole of the Majha, the Rearki and the Kandhi, as far as Pathankot, lay prostrate at the feet of the Sikhs. Faujdar Shamas Khan of Doaba Bist Jullundur was reduced to a nominal ruler; the Jamuna-Ganga plain had been overrun, and to the south of the Sutlej the Sikhs had a complete mastery over the territories of Sirhind, from Machhiwara to Karnal, with Baj Singh as its Governor, assisted by Sikh faujdars and thanedars. They had penetrated into the province of Delhi proper, and, according to Iradat Khan, 'there was no nobleman daring enough to march from Delhi against them. Asaf-ud-Daulah Assad Khan, who governed that capital, shewing signs of fear, the inhabitants were alarmed, and began to fly with their families and effects towards the eastern provinces, for shelter from the impending storm.' If it had not been for the exertions of one Sardar Khan, a Muhammadan Rajput Zamindar on the side of Karnal, 'there was nothing really to stop their advance against Delhi.' 'And if Bahadur Shah had not quitted the Deccan, which he did in A, D. 1710,' and marched towards the Punjab with all his Imperial forces, 'there is every reason to

think', says Malcolm, 'the whole of Hindustan would have been subdued by these...invadres.'[13]

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[13] Muhammad Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 41b-42a; Yar Muhammad, *Dastur-ul-Insha*, 6a; Ganesh Das, *Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab*, 189; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, i. 78; *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan*—Scott's *Memoirs of Iradat Khan*, 58-9; Irvine, *Later Mughals*' i. 98; Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, 79; *Karnal District Gazetteer*, 19.

CHAPTER XII

Emperor Bahadur Shah's March against the Sikhs

The first news of the Sikh outbreak under the leadership of Banda Singh was received by Emperor Bahadur Shah on the 2nd Rabi-ul-Sani 1122 A. H. 30th May, 1710, near Ajmer, on his return from the Deccan after a successful expedition against his younger brother Muhammad Kam Bakhsh.[1] He had come to Rajputana to reduce the refractory chiefs Raja Jai Singh Kachhwahya and Raja Ajit Singh son of Jaswant Singh Rathor.[2] The alarming

1 Kamwar Khan, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin*, 150 a; Irvine, i. 104.

2 When Bahadur Shah was marching into the Deccan against his brother Kam Bakhsh, Rajas Jai Singh Kachhwahya and Ajit Singh Rathor had escaped from his camp near Mandeshwar on April 30th, 1708, and had entered into an alliance with Raja Amar Singh of Udaipur to resist the Mughal authorities in Rajputana. The Imperialists sustained heavy losses in the bloody contests that followed, and the Emperor was driven to the necessity of adopting conciliatory measures to pacify the disturbances in the neighbourhood of the capital at a time when greater portion of the Imperial forces was employed in the far south. On his return from the expedition he thought of availing himself of the opportunity to reduce these insurrectory chiefs. With this object in view he marched into Rajputana, and on

[*Continued on p. 125.*

news from the Punjab changed the situation. The despatches of Asaf-ud-Daula Asad Khan[3] and the reports of various news-writers,[4] which were couched in a most hyperbolical language, invited the Emperor's immediate attention to affairs in the north. Added to these were the loud cries of the Muslim inhabitants of Sirhind and Thanesar, and the *Peerzadas* of Samana and Sadhaura, thousands of whom waited upon him at Ajmer on or about the 22nd of June 1710. The Emperor was moved by the pitiable entreaties and decided to march northwards. 'It was seen that a popular rising, such as that of the Sikhs, in a part of the Empire so near the capital, might have much more serious and far-reaching consequences than the pending quarrel with the Rajputs, who, even if left in quiet possession of their hereditary country, were not likely to be encouraged to further aggression.'

Continued from p. 124.]
the 15th May, 1710, his army was encamped at Dandwa Serai on the banks of the Banas, 30 kos from Ajmer. The negotiations began and the letters of the 'Chiefmen' of the Rajahs were presented on the 22nd. On the 26th May, the Imperial camp and the army reached Toda. It was in these days that the first news of the Sikh outbreak in the Punjab was brought to the Emperor on the 30th of May, 1710, N. S.

[3] According to *Dastur-ul-Insha*, 5 b, Yar Muhammad Khan was then the Subedar of Shahjahanabad.

[4] Tajdin Diwan, Hafiz Khan Diwan, Hassan Riza Kotwal, Fakhar-ud-din Bakhshi, Muhammad Tahir and Darwesh Muhammad Qazi.—*Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*, 121 b—122 a.

He resolved, therefore, to lay aside, for the present, the design of subduing the Rajputs and confirmed them in their allegiance by conniving at their offences, till a more favourable opportunity presented itself.[5]

A difference of opinion at this time arose between the Emperor and his Wazir Munim Khan. The latter represented that it was below the dignity of 'such a glorious monarch' to march in person against such insignificant rebels, as he thought the Sikhs to be, and offered to 'bind himself by solemn oaths to be answerable for the capture of' Banda Singh. 'Yet His Majesty, the defender of faith, thought it his duty', as Iradat Khan tells us, 'to avail himself of the chance of leading a *Jehad* (a holy war) against them [the Sikhs] in person, copying the example of Alamgir, who, in the later part of his reign, appeared at the siege of every fort belonging to the unbelievers.'[6]

Bahadur Shah despatched urgent orders to Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf-ud-Daula Asad Khan, Governor of Delhi, and Wakil-i-Mutliq to mobilize an army for an immediate advance against the Sikhs, and

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[5] Kamwar Khan, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin*, 150 b; Muhammad Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 24; *Dastur-ul-Insha*, 5 b; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, i. 80; Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 276; *Memoirs of Iradat Khan*, 61.

[6] Also see *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa*, 366 b; *Mirat-i-Waridat*, 119 a; Ali Muhammad, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 85 a; *Later Mughals*, i. 105.

called upon Khan Dauran, Subedar of Oudh, Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur, Faujdar of Moradabad, Khan Jahan, Nazim of Allahabad and Sayyed Abdulla Khan of Barha to join him in the projected expedition. The Emperor himself quitted Ajmer at the same time on 27th of June, 1710 and marched towards the Punjab, accompanied by Chatar Sal Bundela and other nobles.

On the 15th of Jamadi-ul-Awal 1122, 11th July, 1710, the report of Jalal Khan regarding the Sikh invasion of his territory was received and on the 22nd (July 18th), Zain-ud-Din Ahmad Khan was appointed to fill the vacancy of the Faujdar of Sirhind caused by the death of Wazir Khan. The Imperial army arrived at the village of Pragpur on the 12th of Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 7th August, when an advance force was despatched against the Sikhs under the command of Firoz Khan Mewati, the dismissed Faujdar of Sambhar, Sultan Quli Khan, a nephew of Rustam Dil Khan, Shakar Khan and others; and an advance of fifty thousand rupees was made to the Mawati towards the payment of the *Sehbandi* irregulars. At this time Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur and Qamar-ud-din Khan arrived from Moradabad, and on the 27th Jamadi-ul-Akhar 1122, 22nd August 1710, another force was sent off under Sayyed Wajih-ud-din Khan of Barha.

To guard against desertions, a proclamation was issued on the 29th Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 24th August, and was announced, by beat of drum, in the royal camp and in the city of Delhi, that no one was allowed to visit the capital without permission, nor were any one's relations allowed to come to the camp. On the 1st Rajab, 25th August, Kokaltash Khan was sent to take charge of the administration of the parganah of Sonepat, which formed the jagir of the eldest son of the Emperor. The camp moved on slowly towards Sonepat where they arrived on the 29th of Shaban, 1122 (22nd October, 1710).

In the meantime, fearing lest there should be any disguised Sikhs among the bearded Hindus in the royal camp, an order was issued on the 15th Rajab (8th September, 1710), for 'all Hindus employed in the Imperial offices to shave off their beards'. There was no Sikh at all in the whole establishment, and the Hindu *Peshkars* and *Diwans* submissively obeyed the royal order, shaved off their beards and received from the Emperor *khilats* for their implicit obedience and loyal service.

Sayyeds Saif-ud-din Ali Khan, Najam-ud-din Ali Khan and Siraj-ud-din Ali Khan came in on the 17th Rajab, 10th September, 1710, and joined the camp at Patodhi, and Churaman Jat arrived

when the camp was near Delhi. At Sonepat, on the 4th Ramzan (26th October), was received the news of the battle of Rahon fought on the 19th of Shaban (12th of October, 1710), and on the 8th Ramzan (30th October) near Serai Kanwar Rustamdil Khan conveyed the news of the victory of Amingarh (4th Ramzan, 26th October), gaincd by Firoz Khan Mewati, and presented 300 heads of the Sikhs killed in that battle. In recognition of his services Firoz Khan was rewarded with the Faujdari of Sirhind and a lac of rupees were remitted to him on the 13th Ramzan (4th November) for general expenses. The Sikhs had also been driven from Thenesar and, on receipt of this information on the 18th Ramzan (9th November), the Emperor desired that an expeditionary force of sixty thousand horse should be got ready, placing thirty-one thousand horse under the command of the eldest prince Muazz-ud-din Jahandar Shah, eleven thousand horse under the other three princes, eleven thousand under Jamdat-ul-Mulk and seven thousand horse under Mahabat Khan. Passing through Karnal (20th Ramzan, 11th November) Azamabad, also called Tirvari—Alamgirpur (22nd Ramzan, 13th November), Thanesar (28th Ramzan, 19th November), and Shahabad, the Emperor encamped at the village of Okala on the 6th

Shawwal, 1122 (27th November, 1710). Here news were brought that three thousand Sikh horse and two thousand foot were entrenched on this side of Sadhaura and that a large number of them had retreated into the fort of Sirhind after a fight with Umar Khan and Bayzid Khan Afghans in the Garden of Yaqub Khan. Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur was ordered to undertake the siege of Sirhind and the Emperor himself moved his camp to Sadhaura where he arrived on the 13th Shawwal, 1122 (4th December, 1710). It was here that cart-loads of 300 heads of the Sikhs, killed in the battle of Sirhind fought a few days earlier, flags, colours and rockets—*Jhanda-o-Nishan-o-Ban*—were received from Shamas Khan.[7]

Leaving the Emperor encamped at Sadhaura, let us now follow the advance-force sent under the command of Firoz Khan Mewati on the 12th Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 1122, 7th August, 1710, with orders 'to destroy the thanas established by the enemy, to re-establish the Imperial posts, and to restore the impoverished people of Shahabad, Mustafabad, Sadhaura and other old seats of population plundered and occupied by the enemy'.[8] The Sikhs, as we know, had occupied

[7] Kamwar, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin*, 150 b-153 b.

[8] Khafi Khan, ii. 669; Elliott, vii. 423.

the territory as far as Panipat. Bayzid Khan Kheshgi of Qasur, whose meritorious services in the Deccan had been rewarded by the Emperor with the Faujdari of Jammu, dared not a collision with the Sikhs and was, therefore, lying near Panipat for the last two or three months. On the appearance of the Imperial force unner Firoz Khan, Bayzid Khan joined him and marched in his train towards the north.

The Sikh forces at this time were distributed all over the country in garrisons and detachments. The main force under Banda Singh and his leading officers had, only a few days before, marched from the Gangetic Doab against Shamas Khan of Sultanpur. The remaining force was divided into small detachments and detailed for duty at Sirhind, Samana, Thanesar, Sadhaura, etc. Many were busy in their own ilaqas in the Majha, the Riarki and the Jullundur Doab. It was reserved, therefore, for Baba Binod Singh and Ram Singh alone to bear the brunt of the battle with the Imperial forces, who came as far as the village of Amingarh near Tirawri on the 4th Ramzan, 1122, 26th October, 1710. The neighbourhood of Tirawri was studded with thick *Chhichhra* (Butea Frondosa) bushes. When the army came within the range of Sikh muskets, they fired a volley. The battle began in

right earnest and the repeated attacks of the Sikhs upon the advance-line of Mahabat Khan, son of Khan-i-Khanan Munim Khan, threw his soldiers off their feet. Mahabat Khan behaved in a most cowardly manner 'unworthy of his father's station and his own,' and was driven back with heavy losses.[9]

Firoz Khan Mewati was very much perturbed over the precarious condition of the battle and became desperate. He called the Barha Sayyeds to his side. They all got down from their horses and advanced sword in hand. There was a great slaughter on both sides and Firoze Khan lost all hopes of success. But shortage of men was a great disadvantage to the Sikhs and it turned the scales against them. They were outnumbered by the Imperial forces and the battle was lost to them. The infuriated Muhammadans fell upon the dead and dying and treated them with every indignity. Cart-loads of three hundred of their heads were sent to the Emperor and many others were hung by their long hair upon the trees on both sides of the Grand Trunk Road.

On receipt of the news of the victory at Amingarh, the Emperor rewarded Firoz Khan Mewati with the Faujdari of Sirhind and despatched six

[9] Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 24; Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, 129.

dresses of honour for him and his allies on the 8th Ramzan, 1122, the 30th October, 1710. The Sikhs had retired upon Thanesar, but, as no reinforcement could be expected from any place, they retreated, after a small fight, towards Sadhaura to fall back upon the fort of Lohgarh, if necessary.

On the Emperor's arrival at Azamabad-Tirawri (also known as Alamgirpur), on the 22nd Ramzan, Rustamdil Khan presented to him a gold studded parasol that had fallen into Firoz Khan's hands at Thanesar and informed him that Firoz Khan had moved from Thanesar towards Shahabad in pursuit of the Sikhs.

While Firoz Khan Mewati was busy with the Sikhs, Bayzid Khan Kheshgi pushed on towards the north. Shamas Khan, on the other hand, was also encouraged by the Emperor's march against the Sikhs and the return of his own uncle Bayzid Khan. He collected a large host of villagers from the Bist Jullundur Doab and marched upon Sirhind. The combined forces of Bayzid Khan, Shamas and Umar Khan encountered the Sikhs in the garden of Yaqub Khan. Baj Singh, the Governor of Sirhind, was then absent on some expedition. His brother Sukha Singh, and Sham Singh offered a bold front, but they were outnumbered and the death of Sukha Singh, at a time when the result

of the battle hung in the balance, compelled them to retire upon the fort of Sirhind.

On receipt of this news by the Emperor at Okala on the 6th Shawwal, 1122 (27th November, 1710), Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur was ordered to move upon Sirhind by forced marches and lay siege to the fort. But before his arrival there, the fort had fallen into the hands of Shamas Khan and he had despatched 300 heads of the Sikhs, killed in battle, and some colours and rockets to the Emperor, which were received at Sadhaura on the 13th Shawwal, 1122. The loss of his opportunity for gaining credit for the capture of Sirhind perturbed Muhammad Amin Khan very much, and he became an avowed enemy of Shamas Khan. He reported to the Emperor that Shamas Khan had collected a large force with evil intentions, and that his movements were not without danger to the peace of the country. Poor Shamas Khan, against all hopes of being raised to a higher rank, was treated most ungratefully. He was dismissed from the Faujdari of Doaba Bist Jullundur,[10] and Isa Khan Manj was appointed to take his place with the rank of 1500 zat, 1000 horse.[11]

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10 *Maasir-ul-Umra*, iii. 128.

11 Kamwar Khan, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin*, 157 b.

CHAPTER XIII

The Battles of Sadhaura and Lohgarh

The Sikhs from Thanesar and Sirhind had retreated towards Lohgarh when Bahadur Shah arrived at Sadhaura on the 13th Shawwal, 1122 (4th December, 1710). Banda Singh had also come there to strengthen his fortifications. Every one, of whatever position, who came to the Imperial camp, represented Banda Singh to be a man possessed of magical powers, and that flames of fire issued from his tongue and throat and that sword and arrow could not wound his followers. 'According to the popular voice,' says Irvine, 'he was a most powerful magician, greater even than he who made a calf to talk; he could turn a bullet from its course and could work such spells that spear and sword had little or no effect upon his followers. Owing to these idle rumours the Emperor and the nobles and the soldiers were much disturbed in mind and were disheartened. The Sikhs, on the other hand, were encouraged by the belief instilled into them by Banda [Singh] that all who lost their lives in this war

would be recreated at once in a higher rank'.[1]

On the 13th Shawwal (4th December, 1710), the Quarter-Master-General Rustamdil Khan and Firoze Khan Mewati, who had also now joined the Imperial camp, were ordered to go forward with the advance tents and select some suitable site for the next encampment. Jumlat-ul-Mulk Munim Khan Khān-i-Khanan and his son, Mahabat Khan, with their troops, and Afzal Khan Bakhshi, with the retinue of Prince Rafi-us-Shan, escorted the ***Pesh-Khana*** (advance tents). News were brought in on the 14th Shawwal (5th December), that Rustamdil Khan had gone hardly two kos *jaribi* from the royal camp, when the Sikhs from a distance of ten or twelve kos rushed upon him with showers of arrows, rockets and musket balls. 'It is impossible for me,' says Khafi Khan, 'to describe the fight which followed. The Sikhs in their fakir dress struck terror into the royal troops. The number of the dead and dying of the Imperialists was so large that, for a time, it seemed they were losing ground. A nephew of Firoz Khan Mewati was killed and his son wounded.'[2] 'The Sikh Sardars unmindful of their lives advanced, sword in hand, and made most of the crusaders

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[1] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i. 111; *Dastur-ul-Insha*, Khafi Khan, ii. 671.
[2] Khafi Khan, ii. 669-70; Kamwar Khan, *Tazkira*, 153 a;

taste the cup of martyrdom and wounded a great many of them.' Most of Rustamdil Khan's followers could not stand the on-rush and were scattered. But soon after, the rest of the Imperial troops arrived and outnumbered the Sikhs. 'This humble person,' says Kamwar Khan, the author of the *Tazkirat-us-Salatin*, 'was then present with the troops of Prince Rafi-us-Shan and saw with his own eyes that every one of the cursed Sikhs came out of the entrenchments, challenged the Imperial troops, and, after great struggle and trial, fell under the swords of the *Ghazis*.' And, with the setting of the sun, they retreated towards the eastern mountains and fell back upon the fort of Lohgarh.[3]

The Imperialists advanced a kos and a half and set up the advance tents. Jumlat-ul-Mulk Munim Khan and his son Mahabat Khan were left to guard the camp, while Rustamdil Khan, Afzal Khan and other nobles advanced half a kos farther and took up a position on the bank of the Som. The rivulet was running very low, and on the other side of it stretched a thick jungle where a dreadful noise was heard the whole night, demanding a very close watching. Rustamdil Kan was rewarded with the title of 'Ghazi Khan Rustam-i-Jang' and his rank was raised to 4000 *zat*, 3000 horse, and Khan-

[3] Kamwar, *Tazkira*, 158 a; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, i. 81.

i-Khanan and Mahabat Khan were honoured with dishes of food from the royal kitchen.[4]

On the 18th Shawwal, 1122 (9th December, 1710), the Emperor arrived at his camp on the Som within sight of Lohgarh, which lay on a high summit surrounded by hollows, craggy rocks and deep path. On Thursday, the 19th Shawwal (10th December), the Imperial troops marched under the command of Prince Rafi-us-Shan to the foot of the Daber hills. To the left side the Prince led the ***Harawals***, Advance Guard of the Imperial army, a kos in advance, and Raja Udet Singh Bundela commanded the ***Harawals*** of Bakhshi-ul-Mumalik's troops. Jumlat-ul-Mulk Khan-i-Khanan and his sons, Mahabat Khan and Khan Zaman, guided by men of local knowledge covered the right side, their advance being under Raja Chatarsal Bundela and Islam Khan Mir Atish. Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan was further supported by the troops of Hamid-ud-din Khan and the retinues of Princes Azim-us-Shan and Jahan Shah. Thus the fort of Lohgarh was very closely invested by over sixty thousand Imperial troops, horse and foot, reinforced by a large number of plunderers from among the Rohila Afghans, Bilochs and others.[5] So strong and inaccessible was

[4] Kamwar, *Tazkira*, 153 a.

[5] Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 42b-43a; Iradat Khan, *Memoirs*, 61-2; Kamwar, *Tazkira*, 153 b; *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa*, 366 b.

Lohgarh that Bahadur Shah dared not attack the Sikhs in their fortress, and resolved to seem inactive for some time to tempt them to an engagement. On this account, he issued positive orders to the princes and all the Amirs not to approach the Sikh entrenchments on any pretence, however favourable. Wazir Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan, however, entreated the Emperor for permission to advance with his force to reconnoitre the enemy's position. The permission was granted on the condition that he should not commence an attack without further orders from His Majesty.[6]

When Munim Khan arrived within shot of their entrenchments, the Sikhs began a warm cannonade from their works, while bodies of their infantry on the heights galled him with rockets, musketry and arrows. The Wazir, more out of jealousy of his military fame than fear of the Emperor's displeasure, ventured for once to disobey the Imperial orders and ordered an attack. This scene was passing within sight of the royal camp. The chiefs and soldiers, including the troops of Prince Rafi-us-Shan, and Rustamdil Khan, emulous of glory, did not wait for orders. They hastened to share in the attack in great numbers while the Emperor and the four princes viewed the raging

[6] Iradat Khan, *Memoirs* 62; Murray, *History of India*, 306.

fight form the squares of their encampments with a mixture of anger and satisfaction.[7]

A little before the time of the *Zuhar* prayer, great smoke and much noise issued from within the Sikh enclosure. Kamwar Khan and his adopted son Khidmat-yab Khan, Khwaja Aman-ullah Qaus-begi and a few others separated themselves from the Imperial troops and went towards the Sikh entrench-ments. They were at the distance of an arrow's flight from the Sikh mud-fort when a cannon-ball from a tamarind tree on the top of a hillock threw the group into disorder. Here Kamwar Khan learnt from some bearers that the Sikhs were falling back upon the forts of Sataragarh and Lohgarh and that the Imperial troops had taken to fire and plunder.[8]

With the raging fight, the excitement increased in the royal troops, and excepting the personal guards of the Emperor and of the princes, the whole of the army, numbering about sixty thousand horse and foot, were seen rushing upon the Sikh entrech-ments. The Sikhs were labouring under a great disadvantage for want of men, and were out-numbered at all posts. One after the other, their pickets on the lower hills had to be abandoned and they had to fall back upon their last position in the

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[7] Iradat Khan, *Memoirs*, 62.

[8] Kamwar Khan, *Tazkira*, 154 a.

fort of Lohgarh. There was a heavy loss of life on both sides. Among the dead on the Muhammadan side was found the son of *Peshkar* Sucha Nand, whose body, and those of many Muhammadans slain by the Sikhs, lay half-hidden under some stones. 'The spectacle of this fearful carnage,' says Kamwar Khan, 'moved the hearts of the compassionate, and this show of the deceptiveness of fate seared the brains of the afflicted.'

Mirza Rukan at this time arrived from the front and informed the Emperor that fighting still continued in the passes of the hills, and that Rustamdil Khan had reached the foot of the hill on which stood a white building occupied by the Sikh chief Banda Singh. The messenger pointed out the hill and the tent from where Banda Singh was said to be viewing the brave deeds of his devoted followers. Just then Raja Udet Singh Bundela, stung by the taunts of his fellow-countryman Raja Chatarsal Bundela, separated himself from the royal troops and hurriedly rode off towards that hill to reinforce the troops of Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan. His fresh matchlockmen poured a thick fire upon the tired Sikhs. But they continued to defend themselves in a most gallant manner. Although the day was rolled up in a dark night, the sounds of fighting were brought on the wind to the Imperial camp till midnight.[9]

[9] Iradat Khan, 62, Kamwar, 154 a-b.

The Sikhs, says Khafi Khan, accepted the instructions of their leader as all-truth. With the deepest love and devotion they came out of the fort and, with the shouts of their war cry, rushed upon the fire of the Imperial artillery, and upon arrows, swords and spears, boldly and resignedly, like moths upon a flame. They directed line-breaking attacks upon the royal entrenchments, and large numbers of the Muhammadans obtained eternal martyrdom at their hands. From among the Hindu Khatris and Jats, only those who accepted his creed and joined his force were spared. All the remaining Hindus were considered with the Muhammadans as worthy of no compassion. If, in an army of two or three thousand horsemen, there are two or three hundred devoted horsemen true to their master's salt, they become the source of pride and victory for that army. In spite of the fact that the Sikhs were mostly footmen, there was hardly any horseman or footman in their group who did not offer himself heart and soul for sacrifice like a goat at the altar of his leader and willingly gave up his life.'[10]

At the time of the evening prayer Munim Khan, sure of having the Sikh chief in his power, ordered his troops to cease the attack and to lie upon their arms in their present position till the morning

[10] *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, ii. 671-2.

should enable him to finish it with success. He left Rustamdil Khan and his troops to surround the hill and the fort of Lohgarh, and returned[11] to the royal camp to report to the Emperor the course of events. The Emperor's anger, on account of the Wizir's disobedience of royal instructions regarding the attack, must have been cooled down by the assurances advanced by him that Banda Singh was surrounded and that he would be brought in as a prisoner the following morning. It is said, says the author of the *Maasir-ul-Umra*, that the *harkaras* or couriers of Zulfqar Khan, out of enemity for Munim Khan, had, under his instructions, spread the false news that the Sikh leader was in their hands. The *harkaras* of Khan-i-Khanan believed the story and conveyed it to him, and he communicated it to the Emperor.[12]

The besieged Sikhs had no stores of food and fodder in the fort of Lohgarh and they feared to be reduced to great extremities in no time. From the top of their fort they bargained, with signs of their hands and eyes, with the grain-dealers with the royal army, and bought what they could from

[11] According to Iradat Khan, Munim Khan did not return to the royal camp at this time but came in only on the following morning, 20th Shawwal, 1122 (11th December, 1710), after the escape of Banda Singh from the fort of Lohgarh during the previous night.

[12] Kamwar, *Tazkira*, 154 b; *Maasir-ul-Umra*, iii. 673-4.

them at two and three rupees a seer of grain. They threw their *chadars* or sheets from above and pulled it up with ropes. A handful or two of it was distributed to each of the besieged, many of whom died of starvation. Thay are also said to have eaten their horses and other beasts of burden to appease their hunger.[13] The last faint hope now left to the Sikhs was the desperate chance of cutting through the enemy. From this and its consequences they did not shrink. One Gulab Singh, a Hindu convert, *Bakhshi* of the Sikh force,[14] 'offered to sacrifice his life for the good of his religion,' dressed himself in the garments of Banda Singh and seated himself in his place. Between midnight and day-break a loud sound, causing the ground under the Imperial tents tremble, was heard from the Sikh enclosure. 'It was caused by the explosion of a cannon, made out of the trunk of a tamarind tree, which the Sikhs had filled with powder and blown to pieces just as they were about to retreat.' Then Banda Singh and the surviving Sikhs came forth, sword in hand, and, by a determined sally, cut their way through the besiegers' lines and escaped towards the mountains of the '*Barfi* Raja' of

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[13] *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, ii. 672-3.

[14] *Dastur-ul-Insha*, 8b; *Ruqat-i-Amin-ud-Daula*, *Ruqa* 4.

Nahan.[15]

On the morning of 20th Shawwal, 1122 (11th December, 1710), before dawn, Jumlat-ul-Mulk Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan renewed the attack and gained the place after a short struggle, exulting in the certainty of carrying the Sikh Chief dead or alive to the Emperor. But, who can measure the weight of his grief and disappointment at finding that 'the hawk had flown' without leaving any trace behind him ? For an instant, Munim Khan, says Iradat Khan, lost the use of his faculties and was drowned in the dread of the Emperor's anger. Gulab Singh Bakhshi and some ten or twelve wounded and dying Sikhs were made prisoners, and, with hanging head, the great Mughal noble returned to the camp. 'As he was, agreeable to the custom after an important victory, beating the

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[15] Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*; Kamwar, *Tazkira*, 154 b; Khafi Khan, ii. 673; *Maasir-ul-Umra*, iii. 673; Elphinstone, *History of India*, 680; Nolan, *History*, ii. 684; Festing, *When Kings rode to Delhi*, 400. According to Iradat Khan, in the words of Muhammad Latif, 'the Sikh chieftain effected his escape during the night by a narrow path leading from the fort to the hills, which had escaped the general's notice, and retreated into the wildest parts of the snowy range of the Himalayas.' [*History of the Punjab*, 278.]

The Rajas of Srinagar and Nahan, particularly the latter, have generally been styled by the Muhammadan writers '*Barfi Raja*' or Icy Kings. They were so-called because of their territories being in the ice-clad mountains, or 'because the Rajah of Nahan used to send boat-loads of ice, or *barf*, as presents to the Emperor and nobles of Delhi.' (*Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi Nadir-uz-Zamani*, Irvine, I. 117.)

march of triumph on his way to the royal tents, orders arrived commanding him to stop the drums and not dare to enter the presence. He retired, drowned in despair, to his own tents, where he had the cruel mortification of learning every instant, from messengers, that his enemies exulted in his fall from favour and openly condemned his conduct with malicious zeal in the presence of His Majesty, who was highly enraged at him.'[16]

The Emperor's displeasure at the escape of the Sikh Chief could not be concealed. 'It mattered not, said Bahadur Shah, where the dog had fled to, whether he was drowned in the river or was hiding in a cave in the hills; in any case the Wazir [Munim Khan] had bound himself to produce the rebel, and produce him he must. He [Bahadur Shah] claimed the man from him. Overwhelmed with these fierce reproaches, Munim Khan,' says Muhammad Shafi Warid, 'left the council-chamber with hanging head and dejected mien.'[17]

On the same morning, 20th Shawwal, 1122, Rustamdil Khan brought in the Sikh prisoners and the spoil consisting of five elephants, three pieces of cannon, seventeen ***rahkalas*** (light pieces), a

[16] *Memoirs of Iradat Khan*, 63; Kamwar, *Tazkira*, 154b; Harasi, *Ibrat Namah*, 43 a.

[17] *Mirat-i-Waridat*, Irvine, ii. 117.

canopy and some silver poles belonging to the Sikh Chief. The Emperor was thereupon pleased to reward him with a pair of elephants, a male and a female. Gulab Singh and his ten or twelve fellow-prisoners were made over to Sarbrah Khan Kotwal for execution. Orders were at this time issued calling upon the royal princes and the Imperial nobles to join the camp without delay. In two days' time the Emperor's anger was cooled down, and he was pleased to receive Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan again into his favour and to bestow dresses of honour in an open Darbar on the 22nd Shawwal, 1122 (13th December, 1710), upon him and upon Bakhshi-ul-Mumalik Amir-ul-Umra, of five pieces each, and upon Mahabat Khan Bahadur, Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur and Islam Khan Bahadur of four pieces each. Among the Hindu chiefs and nobles who rendered yeoman's service to the Great Mughal in his expedition against the Sikhs, Raja Udet Singh Bundela received a special dress of honour, Raja Chatarsal an aigrette, and Chauraman Jat an elephant.[18]

Orders were despatched the same day, 22nd Shawwal, 1122 (13th December, 1710), to the Rajas (Zamindars) of Srinagar and Nahan calling upon them to sieze the Sikh leader and despatch him to

[18] Kamwar, *Tazkira*, 155a,

the royal presence. Hamid Khan was sent in pursuit with the orders: 'If they caught the Sikh Chief they were to take him prisoner alive; if they could not, they were to take the *Barfi* Raja and bring him to the presence.' As Banda Singh and the Sikhs had effected their escape into or through the territory of the Raja of Nahan, the crime of the Raja was considered to be more patent. Unfortunately the Raja's capital happened to be only a few miles away, and the Imperial nobles, finding no trace of the Sikhs, poured their bile upon Raja Bhup Parkash, son of Raja Hari Parkash, of Nahan and brought him to the royal camp near the village of Puri on the 2nd Zi-ul-Qada, 1122 (22nd December, 1710). He was thrown into prison, and about thirty of the leading hillmen, who were deputed by his old mother to plead for his release, were executed on the 4th Safar, 1123 (23rd March, 1711).[19] The fate reserved for Raja Bhup Parkash was rather pitiable. 'An iron cage,' says Khafi Khan, 'became the lot of the Barfi Raja [Bhup Parkash] and of that Sikh [Gulab Singh] who so devotedly sacrificed himself for his Guru' and 'for the good of his religion,' 'for they were placed in it and sent to the fort of Delhi.'[20]

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19 *Mirat-i-Waridat*; Kamwar Khan, *Tazkira*, 156 a.

20 *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, ii. 673-74; Elliot, vii. 424-5; Kamwar, *Tazkira*, 155 a.

Raja Fateh Singh of Srinagar, living in inaccessible mountains, far beyond the easy reach of the Imperialists, could not be arrested. He was also prudent enough to offer his submission to the Emperor by sending presents which were received in the royal camp on the 20th Muharram, 1123 (8th March, 1711).

For some days the Imperial sappers and miners dug the ground in the fort of Lohgarh in search of the hidden treasure of the Sikhs, and on the 25th Shawwal, 1122 (16th December, 1710), about eight lacs of Rupees and gold Ashrafis were recovered therefrom.

After the despatch of orders to the Rajas of Nahan and Srinagar for the capture of the Sikh Chief, and of Hamid Khan Bahadur in pursuit of him, Emperor Bahadur Shah moved his camp towards Puri[21] and Sadhaura, where his progress towards Lahore was arrested for some days by heavy rains that had now set in. Passing through Sarwarpur and Rasulpur, he arrived at Bhadoli on the 15th February, 1711, where, thirteen days later, on the 28th, Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan died of 'some affection in the face of the nature

[21] It was here that Raja Bhup Parkash, son of Raja Hari Parkash, of Nahan, was brought to the royal presence by Hamid Khan on 2nd Zi-ul-Qada, 1122 (22nd December, 1710).

of gangrene, which had attacked his eye and ear.'[22] Breaking up the camp at Bhadoli on the 7th of March, 1711, the Emperor arrived at Ropar on the 30th April, and, moving nearer the river-bank on the 2nd May, crossed the Sutlej on the 17th. On the 9th June he arrived at Hoshiarpur,[23] and the Beas was crossed on the 23rd June. A halt was made at the town of Kahnuwan on the 17th July, at Kalanaur on the 29th, Chamiari on the 30th, and Panjgrain on the 3rd August. His Majesty reached Lahore on the 11th August, 1711.[24]

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[22]According to Iradat Khan, the chief minister died of the effects of his disgrace at the hands of Bahadur Shah in the presence of his enemies. Although his fall from royal favour 'did not continue long, and Shah Alum, regarding his former service, received him again into favour after a few days, yet this noble and faithful minister never recovered from the effects of the royal ingratitude...... and from the day of his disgrace declined in his health......he lingered a few days and then resigned his soul to the angel of death.' Jonathan Scot, *Memoirs of Iradat Khan*, 63-4. Also see *Dastur-ul-Insha*.

[23]Here it was reported to the Emperor that Isa Khan Manj, who had succeeded Shamas Khan Kheshgi to the Faujdari of Bist Jullundur after the latter's dismissal, had inflicted a defeat on the Sikhs. [Kamwar, *Tazkira*, 157 b.] But, when and where this battle was fought does not appear to have been recorded in any historical work, printed or in manuscript, so far unearthed.

[24] Kamwar Khan, *Tazkira-us-Salatin*; Irvine, i. 129.

CHAPTER XIV

Reduction of the Hill Chiefs, the Battles of Bahrampur and Batala, and other minor Engagements

The escape of Banda Singh and the Sikhs and the evacuation of the fort of Lohgarh cannot be considered a defeat for them. It was rather a defeat for the Emperor and his crusading forces whose every effort to capture the Sikh leader had hopelessly failed, and he had escaped, sword in hand, cutting through the lines of over sixty thousand horse and foot. Banda Singh had, no doubt, been compelled to evacuate the fort, but he knew that he was labouring under a disadvantage of numerical strength against the Imperialist odds and that he suffered the loss for want of ammunition and provisions. He had, of course, conquered some six districts of the present Punjab from Panipat to Lahore, but it was purely a military occupation, and he had not as yet been able to establish an indisputably complete mastery over them. Whatever little force he had was distributed

over the conquered territories. And, as all this, from the occupation of Samana to the evacuation of Lohgarh, had taken place in the short space of less than a year, it was beyond his means to collect provision stores large enough to stand a siege by sixty thousand Imperial troops. In spite of all this, Banda Singh and a handful of Sikhs foiled the attempt of the Great Mughal with all the resources of the vast Mughal Empire at his command.

Banda Singh Bahadur was not dejected by the loss of his stronghold and treasure. These, he knew, were not the main sources of his strength. They had fallen to him automatically as a result of his successes. His strength lay mainly in the indomitable spirit of the Khalsa, on whom, he knew, he could safely depend. Within a fortnight from the date of his departure from the fort of Lohgarh, he issued circular letters, commonly called *Hukamnamahs*, to the Khalsa throughout the country, calling upon them to join him at once. One such letter dated 12th Poh Sammat 1 (about 26th December, 1710, N. S.), addressed to the Khalsa of Jaunpur[1] reads as follows:—

[1] The original of this document is in possession of the author.



The *Hukam Namah* or Letter of Banda Singh Bahadur, dated 12th Poh, Sammat 1, about 26th December, 1710, addressed to the *Sarbat Khalsa* of Jaunpur.

(SEAL)	*Deg o Teg o Fateh o Nusrat-i-Bedirang* *Yaft az Nanak Guru Gobind Singh* 2

Ik Onkar Fateh Darshan.[3]

This is the order of *Sri Sacha Sahib.*[4] The Guru shall save the entire Khalsa of Jaunpur. Repeat *Guru Guru;* the life shall be purified. You are the Khalsa of the great *Akal Purkh.* On seeing this *hukam,* repair to the presence, wearing the five arms. Live according to to the *Rahit* of the Khalsa. Do not use *bhang,* tobacco, *post* (poppy capsules), wine or any other intoxicant. Do not eat meat, fish and onion.[5] Commit no theft, adultery or

[2] For the meaning of this couplet which forms the inscription on the seal of Banda Singh, see chapter VIII page 83.

[3] The new war cry introduced by Banda Singh. Later on as it was feared to be used for and replace the old Sikh salutation, it was rejected by the Khalsa in favour of '*Wahiguru ji ki Fateh.*' Also see page 98, footnote 13.

[4] These words are used for the Guru in whose name he issued the letter. Some writers have misconstrued that he had used these words for himself and that he had tried to pose himself as Guru. But this does not stand the test of historical evidence. Here, in this document, the personality of the Guru is mentioned distinct from his own. He clearly enjoins that the Guru, *and not himself,* is the Saviour of the Khalsa.

[5] There is no injunction for or against the use of meat, fish, onion in the teachings of the Sikh religion. It is left to individual choice. Banda Singh's injunction against their use betrays the predominance of his old Bairagi vegetarianism over his mind in respect of food. Although the majority of the Sikhs are meat-eaters, there is no religious injunction for or against it.

any sexual immorality. We have brought about the age of Sat-yuga. Love one another.

I enjoin that he who lives according to the *Rahit* of the Khalsa shall be saved by the Guru.

Poh 12, Sammat 1. Lines 10.

The Khalsa had not been disheartened by the losses of their leader or the successes of the Emperor against them. On receipt of Banda Singh's letters, therefore, they flocked to him at Kiratpur from all quarters; and, befere long, he felt himself to be strong enough to undertake military expeditions against the offending Hindu chiefs of the Shiwaliks.

Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur was the first to attract his attention. He had always been a source annoyance to Guru Govind Singh and had played a leading part in the expeditions led against him by the hill-chiefs or by the Imperial troops of the provinces of Sirhind and Lahore. As usual, a messenger was sent to him with a *parwana* calling upon him to submit. The guilty conscience of of the Raja had been pricking him for some time past. In fact he had been expecting an invasion from the Sikhs from the day Banda Singh had defeated Wazir Khan and occupied the province of Sirhind. He had, therefore, requisitioned the services of the leading Zamindars of the Jullundur Doab and

the rajas of the neighbouring hills, who now strengthened the fortress of Bilaspur and awaited the attack. But in spite of all the efforts of Raja Bhim Chand and his allies the fort could not stand the onrush of the Sikhs. His forces, regular and irregular, estimated to have been over thirteen hundred ***Mians***, were all slain in the scuffle. The dead were stocked in heaps of one hundred each and buried in thirteen long ditches. The town of Bilaspur yielded immense booty to the Sikhs.

The defeat of the Raja of Kahlur and his allies now unnerved most of the Rajput chieftains of the Shiwaliks. They shuddered to think of the horrors that might befall them if they were to resist the advancing Khalsa. The safest course for them therefore, they thought, was to submit to Banda Singh. Many of them readily came into the Sikh camp to greet the conquerors, to offer their allegiance and to pay ***nazrana*** and tribute into the Sikh treasury.[6]

One of the first to come in was Sidh Sain of Mandi, who declared that he was a follower of 'the house of Guru Nanak' and that his capital had been consecrated by the visit of Guru Govind Singh who had showered his blessings upon his family. Banda Singh was much pleased with the submissive

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[6] *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 128-31,

attitude of the Raja and blessed him with perpetuity of his raj. He is also said to have given him a book of miracles which, it was said, would help him at all times.[7]

An interesting story about the miracles of this book is given in the *Prachin Panth Prakash* of Bhangu Ratan Singh Shahid. A leaf out of the book was said to be in possession of an old saintly Arora woman who, in her younger days, had served the wife of Banda Singh in the neighbourhood of

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[7] *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 132.

According to Man Mohan's History of the Mandi State, this book of miracles is said to have been given to the Raja by one Guru Tara Nath of China. But it appears to be incredible at the very face of it. He writes thus :—

> 'The story goes that this wonderful *gutka* belonged to one Guru Tara Nath of China who by virtue of it used to send one of his disciples every day to fetch water from the Ganges for the Guru's ablutions. In the course of his aerial flights the disciple used to rest for few moments at a thatched hut near the harem in Mandi. One day he fell asleep there. Raja Sidh Sen, who happened to go to the place quietly took away the *gutka*. When the disciple awoke he was struck with consternation to find the book gone, but on his entreaties Sidh Sen gave it back to him. When the disciple reached his destination in China, Guru Tara Nath asked him why he was late. He related the whole story and praised Sidh Sen's magnanimous conduct. Tara Nath was much pleased with Sidh Sen and knowing in the plenitude of his spiritual powers that he would not miss the magical *gutka* he told his disciple to present it on his behalf to Sidh Sen the following day. This was done and Sidh found himself possessed of miraculous powers.' [P. 55-6.]

Jaijon. It so happened that in spite of having two wives the Raja Jaghar Singh of Jaswan Dun of Hoshiarpur District had no male issue. His wives had been to many a *Sidh* and saint for blessing for a male child; they are said to have visited the well-known Sodhi Wadbhag Singh of Kartarpur also, but their blessings had failed to fertilise the Jaswal ladies. At last when they heard of the old woman from Bedi Sahib Singh of Una, who had seen the leaf with her, the ladies went to see the saintly woman. Having presented their offerings, they kept standing before her. Perhaps the old woman did not like this. She retorted: 'What do ye want with me, a poor woman living on coarse food? Go ye to the wealth-loving big Mahants and place your offerings before them.' On hearing this, the suppliant ladies fell down at her feet with all humility. Then she smiled, placed each of her hands on their heads and said: 'The Master shall fulfil your wishes.' The ladies returned with the joyful blesstng. It had a miraculous effect on them. Soon afterwards they became pregnant and gave birth to two beautiful boys, named Abhiraj Singh and Rajrip Singh.[8]

From Mandi Banda Singh proceeded towards Kulu where, by the irony of fate, he is said to have

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[8] *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 133.

fallen into the hands of its Raja at Sultanpur.[9] As the tradition goes, the Raja of Kulu, probably Man Singh by name, asked him to perform a miracle. He took hold of his own beard and drew it out to a great length. But the Rajah shewed him a miracle in return by breathing forth a flame which consumed the lengthened beard. By way of giving

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9 *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 134.

All those writers who have followed Vigne in their accounts of Mandi and Kullu have ascribed this all to Guru Govind Singh and have confusedly combined the visit of the Guru with that of Banda Singh. There is no historical evidence to prove that Guru Govind Singh ever visited Kullu proper. The *Mahma Prakash*, both in prose and poetry, *Gur Bilas Daswin Padshahi*, *Sakhi* books, *Suraj Prakash*, *Prachin Panth Prakash* etc. are all silent on this point.

The first part of the tradition given by Vigne on the authority of the Raja of Mandi, and copied by Rose, Vogel, Hutchinson, Man Mohan and others, referring to the arrival of the Guru at Sultanpur in the guise of a fakir, the exchange of miracles between the Guru and the Raja of Kullu, the imprisonment of the Guru in a cage and his flight to Mandi, belongs exclusively to Banda Singh, as confirmed by Bhangu Rattan Singh's *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 134-5. The second part, in respect of his warm reception at Mandi and his blessing the country with protection from foreign aggression belongs both to Guru Govind Singh (*Suraj Prakash*, V. 8, p. 4533-7), and Banda Singh (*Prachin Panth Prakash*, 132), 'From some superstitious motives connected with this story', writes Vigne, 'no servant of Ranjit Singh (so I was informed,) had ever been sent to Mandi. The receiver of the revenue is quartered outside the town, and the Maharaja's officer, in attendance upon me, did not enter it whilst I remained there'. (Travels in Kashmir, 100.) Also see Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, 690-1; Hutchinson and Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Man Mohan, *History of the Mandi State*, p. 53-5.

him a further proof of his superiority, the Raja imprisoned Banda Singh in a cage, upon which he caused himself, cage and all, to be carried through the air to Mandi where he met with a warm reception from Raja Sidh Sain. The truth, however, seems to be that Banda Singh accidently fell into the hands of Raja Man Singh of Kullu who imprisoned him in an iron cage, probably with a view to handing him over to the officials of Bahadur Shah, who were now scouring the country in search of him. On receipt of the news, Raja Sidh Sain of Mandi, says Ratan Singh, was preparing to mobilize an expeditionary force against the Raja of Kullu, but Banda Singh, in the meantime, managed, by some tactic, to escape from his confinement, and made his way to Mandi.[10]

His stay there must have been of very short duration, for he soon left for the State of Chamba which was then governed by Raja Udai Singh. On receipt of the information, the Raja sent his Wazir to ascertain the intentions of Banda Singh, who, as Ratan Singh tells us, was content with visiting Chamba all alone, leaving his army behind

[10] It was probably about this time that the news of Banda Singh's activities in the neighbourhood of the parganah of Raipur were reported to Bahadur Shah, on receipt of which he ordered (5th March, 1711), Hamid Khan with five thousand horse to pursue him.

him. On his arrival at the capital, the Raja received him most hospitably and offered to him in marriage a handsome girl, said to be from his own family.[11] A son named Ajai Singh was born to him towards the end of the year 1711.

In the beginning of the year 1123 A. H. (February-March, 1711), in about three months from the date of the fall of Lohgarh, the Sikh Chief issued from the hills near Raipur and Bahrampur and began to extend his influence in the direction of Gurdaspur.[12]

In a few days after the arrival of Muhammad Amin Khan in the royal camp on the 22nd Zi-ul-Qada, 1122 (11th January, 1711), the Emperor had despatched Saf Shikan Bahadur, with his sister's son Himmat Daler Khan, against the Sikhs in the direction of Lahore. He was followed on the 18th Muharram, 1123 (7th March, 1711) by Hamid Khan Bahadur at the head of five thousand horse; and, on the 7th and 14th Rabi-ul-Sani, 1123 (24th and 31st May, 1711), were sent Rustamdil Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan to chastise the Sikhs. But, meanwhile, a report was brought to the Emperor on the 18th Rabi-ul-Sani, 1123 (4th June, 1711), announcing the battle fought between the Sikhs and

11 *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 137.

12 Muhammad Harisi, *Ibrat Nama*, 43 a.

the Faujdar of Jammu near Bahrampur where Shamas Khan was slain and Bayzid Khan, the Faujdar, was mortally wounded.[13]

When Banda Singh issued from the hills near Raipur and Bahrampur, Bayzid Khan Kheshgi, [illegible]d-Din Khan Kheshgi, the Faujdar of Jammu, was about sixteen kos to the north-west of Raipur.. At this time his nephew Shamas Khan accidently arrived there after his dismissal from the Faujdari of Doaba Bist Jullundur.[14] On receipt of the news of the appearance of the Sikhs in that area Bayzid Khan deputed Shahdad Khan, Shamas Khan's sister's husband, with one thousand five hundred horse, to proceed, with all haste, for the protection of Raipur. Bayzid Khan himself and Shamas Khan moved out at the head of nine hundred horse,[15] and having gone half the way occupied themselves with hunting, when the news arrived that the Sikhs had

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[13] Kamwar, *Tazkirat-us Salatin*, 157 a-b.

[14] *Maasir-ul-Umra*, ii. 129. According to Muhammad Harisi (*Ibrat Namah*, 43 a), Shamas Khan was going home after his dismissal. Apparently Harisi is mistaken on this point. Kasur (his home) lies to the south-west of Sultanpur, the capital of the Faujdari of the Doaba Bist Jullundur, while Bahrampur and Raipur lie to the north and north-east at practically double that distance. *Maasir-ul-Umra* is therefore more reliable on this point. Shamas Khan had gone there probably to see his uncle Bayzid Khan with a view to informing him about his dismissal and to see if he could approach the Emperor and get his grievance redressed.

[15] According to the *Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Hind*, 38 a, the Muhammadan army numbered about seven thousand horse.

come very near. Shamas Khan went out to meet them but was easily tricked by the Sikhs by their old Rahon tactics. It seems that they pretended to fly at the sight of Shamas Khan, who, in spite of the warnings of his uncle Bayzid Khan, hastened to pursue them at close quarters. They had not gone very far when the Sikhs, all of a sudden, sharply turned upon their heels and pounced upon their pursuers.[16]

In an instant the battle ensued with all its fury, and the Muhammadans were driven back line by line, leaving heaps of them in dead and wounded. When Bayzid Khan and Shamas Khan saw that the scales were turning against them, they rushed forward to oppose the advancing Sikhs like Baj Singh and others. Baj Singh and Fateh Singh came out to meet them. Shamas Khan attacked Baj Singh with his spear. Baj Singh snatched the spear from his hand and flung it back upon him, severely wounding his arm. The wounded Shamas Khan heeled his horse and rushed upon Baj Singh with a naked sword. Baj Singh received the sword upon his shield and dealt him so heavy a blow that Shamas Khan's sword fell down from his hand. Pahar Singh, his brother, who was standing near-by, fell upon Shamas Khan before he could attack

[16] *Maasir-ul-Umra*. iii. 129-30.

Baj Singh a second time, and so strongly hit him that his sword passed from his shoulder through to his back and his head went rolling to the ground.[17]

Bayzid Khan was much enraged at the death of his nephew Shamas Khan and boldly came up to wreak his vengeance upon the Sikhs. Finding that the shots from his gun every time missed their aim, Bayzid Khan broke it in anger and rushed upon Baj Singh with a naked sword. Baj Singh was slightly wounded and, before Bayzid Khan could inflict a second wound upon him, Fateh Singh hit him with his spear and wounded him in the arm. Bayzid Khan attempted another attack upon Baj Singh, but Fateh Singh in the meanwhile came upon him and mortally wounded him (Bayzid Khan) with his sword.[18] With the fall of their leader, confusion spread in the Muslim ranks and they took to their heels. For some time there was a struggle for the possession of the bodies of Shamas Khan and Bayzid Khan, and it was with much difficulty that the Afghans could extricate them from the hands of the Sikhs. After three days Bayzid Khan also died of his wounds. Their bodies

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[17] *Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Hind*, 38 a-b.

[18] According to the *Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Hind*, 39 a, Bayzid Khan was killed on the spot.

were removed to Kasur and buried there.[19] The whole of the Dera or camp equipage of the Faujdar of Jammu and Shamas Khan fell into the hands of the Sikhs who overran the towns of Raipur and Bahrampur and advanced upon the parganahs of Kalanaur and Batala.

On receipt of the information of the arrival of the Sikhs in the neighbourhood, many of the inhabitants of these places deserted their homes and fled to Lahore and other places of safety with their families and such property as they could remove.[20] When Banda Singh marched upon the city of Batala, the inhabitants were divided in opinion as to the measures to be adopted. One party headed by Sayyed Muhammad Fazil-ud-din Qadri,[21] who had recently settled in the city and established a college and a monastery there, proposed to abandon the place with their families, and the Sayyed himself, with his relations and darveshas, fled to the town of Sultanpur in the Bist Jullundur Doab; while the other party, of which Shaikh Ahmed, known as the *Shaikh-ul-Hind*, was

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19 *Muasir-ul-Umra*, ii, 130; *Ahwal Salatin-i-Hind*, 38 b-39 b; Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 43 a-b.

20 Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 43 b; *Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Hind*, 39 a; Ahmad Shah, *Zikr-i-Guruan*, etc., 12.

21 Dr. W. L. M'Gregor (*History of the Sikhs*, 1846, p. 108) gives this name as Syud Muhammad Fuzil Gilanee.

the leader, urged a strenuous defence and encouraged the people to fight and to prepare themselves for a siege.

Banda Singh arrived at the Tank of Achal, two kos to the east of Batala, and on the following day turned his attention to the city. The inhabitants shut the gates and prepared themselves to defend the walls, while the *Shaikh-ul-Hind* himself, with his followers and inhabitants, went out of the Hathi Gate to meet Banda Singh. On reaching the road he made a bold stand, but he could ill-afford to stand against the Khalsa, and, after a short struggle, he was overpowered and slain. The corpse of the brave Shaikh was carried to Wazirabad and there interred, two miles from the town, in a place called Kotla Shaikh-ul-Hind, where his descendants live upto the present day. The followers of the *Shaikh-ul-Hind* were soon defeated and driven back. Under the orders of Banda Singh, the Sikhs broke open the gates and entered the city. The College of Sayyed Muhammad Fazil ud-din Qadri, which was now empty, and many of palatial buildings of the city, beginning with the house and mohalla of Qazi Abdul Haq, perished in the flames.[22]

Banda Singh next desired to advance upon

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[22] Ahmad Shah Batalia, *Zikr-i-Guruan*, etc., p. 12; M' Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, 108-9.

Lahore,[23] but as he was pursued by the Imperial generals at close quarters and the Emperor himself was not far off, being encamped at Hoshiarpur on the 9th June, 1711, he crossed the Ravi into the Rachna Doab and went towards the hills of Jammu. On their way a detachment of the Sikhs overran Aurangabad and Pasrur, where, afterwards, according to a report received by the Emperor on the 28th Rabi-ul-Sani, 1123 (14th June, 1711), they are said to have suffered a reverse at the hands of Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur and Rustamdil Khan, who pursued them into the eastern hills of Jammu.[24]

Muhammad Amin Khan, Aghar Khan[25] and Rustamdil Khan now combined their troops together and encircled Banda Singh from three sides. But his genius, fertile in expedients, extricated him without any loss. He hardly gave them an oppor-

[23] *Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Hind*, 39 a. According to Ahmad Shah, followed by Dr. M'Gregor, the city of Lahore was at this time burnt by the Sikhs, but this is not supported by any other historical evidence. There is no mention of it in Qasim's *Ibrat Namah*, Kamwar's *Tazkirah*, Harisi's *Ibrat Namah*, Latif and Kanhaya Lal's *Histories of the Punjab* and *Lahore* or any other work.

[24] Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 43 b-44b; Kamwar, *Tazkira*, 157b.

On receipt of this report Emperor Bahadur Shah despatched letters of congratulation, special dresses of honour, aigrettes, jewel-hilted swords to them. (Entry of 28th Rabi-ul-Sani, 1123 A. H.)

[25] Col. Briggs gives this name as Asghar Khan (Tras. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 76).

tunity to see him, as he always moved on their outskirts and kept himself out of their way. When he had given them the slip, he suddenly sallied forth from the opposite side, near Parol and Kathua, and fell upon the troops of Rustamdil Khan. All efforts of the Ghazi Khan Rustam-i-Jang, as Rustamdil Khan was called, failed to stem the tide of the advancing Sikhs. Sword in hand, they cut through his lines and escaped unhurt, massacring the Imperial troops and destroying everything that came in their way.[26]

Rustamdil Khan, it seems, was very much dejected at this reverse to his arms. Being now unable to pursue Banda Singh and the Sikhs with any prosect of success, for they had defeated all his efforts and had escaped into the difficult defiles of craggy mountains, he poured his bile upon the inhabitants of Parol, Kathua and their neighbourhood. 'In these operations against the Sikhs,' writes Irvine, 'Rustamdil Khan is said to have committed great excesses against the inhabitants of Kathotha [Kathua], Barwal [Parol], and other parganahs, siezing many persons on the wrongful accusation of being Sikhs, and giving them to his soldiers in lieu of pay. These latter sold the poor

[26] Ghulam Hussain, *Sair-ul-Mutakherin*, 402, Raymond, 87, Briggs 76; Danishwar, *Miftah-ul-Tawarikh*, 397.

wretches in the horse-market (Nakhkhas) at Lahore.'[27]

Soon afterwards some difference, resulting in a serious quarrel, arose between the two commanders, Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustamdil Khan, and as the former succeeded in poisoning the Emperor's impressionable mind against the latter, he (Rustamdil Khan) left the expeditionary force in disgust and returned to Lahore.[28] Muhammad Amin Khan, however, continued his stay in the hills in connection with the pursuit of the Sikhs, though, evidently, without much success.

The Sikhs of Lahore and its neighbourhood were passing through hard times, particularly from the day Sayyed Inayat, Ataulla, Muhammad Taqi and other leading Muhammadans had suffered a defeat at their hands at Bhilowal. Not

[27] *Later Mughals*, 1. 119. Also Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 157 b; Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 25.

[28] According to Muhammad Shafi Warid, the author of the *Mirat-i-Waridat*, Muhammad Amin Khan charged Rustamdil Khan with treachery, and complained to the Emperor that Rustam had accepted large presents of money from Banda Singh and, having delayed his advance against the Sikhs, had helped them in their escape. Muhhmmad Amin Khan's story was believed, says Warid, and Rustamdil Khan was recalled to Lahore. And, according to Kamwar Khan, the diarist of the Emperor, Bahadur Shah came to know of Rustam's return to Lahore on the 19th Rajab, 1123 (1st September, 1711), when he was ordered to be arrested for leaving his troops and returning to Lahore without orders.' (*Taskirah*, 158 a.)

having the courage to face them in the field of battle, they excited their co-religionists to set fire to the *kafirs'* houses and plunder all that they could lay their hands on. An Imperial order was in these days received, says the author of the *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*,[29] for a whole-sale massacre of the Sikhs wherever found. This gave the mad fanatics an official encouragement for their excesses which had no bounds. The oppressions were carried on most indiscriminately and many people were murdered and persecuted on the charge of being Sikhs or their supporters and sympathisers. They even objected to the religious worship of the Hindus, resulting in the murder of a poor *Avadhuta*[30] woman followed by a serious riot.[31]

For a long time past some Sannyasis and Bairagis had a monastery of theirs near the Imperial palace on the bank of the Ravi, where they practised religious austerities and devoted themselves to meditation. An *Avadhuta* woman from amongst the Sannyasis was absorbed in her meditation when some ungentlemanly Muslims, out of bigotry,

[29] P. 224 a.

[30] Avadhuta, also spelt Abdhut, is a degree or a class of celebate Sannyasi Gosains who live by begging. It is also the name of the fourth Ashram or stage of the Gosains when they generally live naked. (*A Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N. W. F.*, 1911, Vol. II, 303-5.)

[31] *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*, 224 a.

thrust a dagger into her heart and broke her skull......Blood gushed out of the wound like water from a spring, and twice or thrice, hour by hour, a small ray came out of the wound and disappeared in the air. The Hindus and Muhammadans present on this occasion were filled with sorrow and wonder but, on account of their partiality for Islam, none could move his tongue. This was followed by another more serious mishap.[32]

One day the relations of the Khan-i-Khanan's Hindu Mutasaddi, Shiv Singh, whose son was suffering from smallpox, were going for worship, singing and beating a drum, to the temple of Sitla Devi, the goddess of smallpox. On this the Maulavis or Mullas[33] of Lahore raisad a religious cry, complaining that *Kufar* or heresy was gaining ground in the city. A hundred thousand Muslim fanatics, mostly shoe-makers and vegetable-sellers, responded to the call, and under the leadership of one Virdi Beg, a friend of the City Accountant, backed by the Mullas, subjected the defenceless Hindus to an indiscriminate plunder. The Hindus of Lahore were afraid even to remonstrate and bore all indignities with their proverbial inertness. But

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[32] *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*, 223 b.

[33] Mulla or Maulavi is a Muhammadan doctor of divinity who teaches the precepts of the faith. Maulana or Mulwana is another form of the title used in some parts of India.

for the timely help of Bachan Singh Kachhwahya and Badan Singh Bundela, who had been deputed by the Emperor for the protection of the city, most of the Hindu population would, perhaps, have perished. At this critical juncture these two officials occupied a safe position outside the city and, by beat of drum, called the Hindus out into their protection. Zabardast Khan now realized the graveness of the situation, and, on his advice, Aslam Khan, the Governor of Lahore, put an end to this unpleasant affair.[34]

The Imperial camp was at this time on its way to Lahore. 'Quite contrary to what the truth was, those idiotic fanatics, steeped in ignorance,' continues the auther of the *Tarihk-i-Muhammad Shahi*,[34] 'complained to the Emperor that they had suffered very heavily at the hands of the Hindus in the last riot.' It was also, it seems, suggested to the Emperor by some interested people that the Sikhs, in the guise of the Hindus, were at the bottom of all this trouble. The Emperor administered his royal advice to the complainants with some quotations from the *Quran* and the *Hadis*; and, to distinguish the Sikhs from the Hindus, he re-published his royal *farman* calling upon all the Hindus in the

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[34] *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*, 223 b-224 b.

[35] P. 224 b.

royal camp to shave off their beards. The hair and beard were considered to be the only visible distinction between the two, for the Sikhs, according to the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, would under no circumstances, even under pain of death, 'cut or shave their beards or whiskers or any hair whatever of their body.'

'On the very day when the *Nanak-prasts* [the worshippers of Nanak, the Sikhs] received punishment for their wickednesses,' writes Yar Muhammad Qalandar, the then Governor of Shahjahanabad, 'a royal order was issued that the beards of all Hindus in the royal camp should be shaved; that it should be made known in all provinces that no non-Muslim should be allowed to have a long beard, and that whosoever was so found, his beard should be pulled out. So, this was proclaimed in the Imperial territories. In the Imperial camp it took such a turn that giant-like commanders of armies, Captains, Generals, went about in the bazaars and streets, accompanied by barbers with filthy water in dirty basins. And, whomsoever they found, they shaved off his beard with indignity, and pulled his turban and garments. Royal princes, Mutsaddis and other well-known Hindus shaved their beards in their own houses before they came into the royal presence. This practice went on from

day to day until the royal camp arrived in the neighbourhood of Lahore and orders for preparations for the coronation-day celebrations were issued.'[36]

[36] *Dastur-ul-Insha*, 9 b; *Ruqqat-i-Amin-ud-Daula*, Ruqqa 5th; Latif, *History of Lahore*, 70.

رقعه پنجم

کیفیت تازه جهان مدار این ست همان روز که نانک پرستان بسزائي زیاده خیره سیرتهائي رسیدند حکم قضاشیم صدور یافت که ریش هندوان ازدمي عملے یکسر تراشند و بصوبجات ابلاغ احکام جهان مطاع نمایند که هیچ یکے بے دیني ریش دراز نه باشد هر که را یابند ریشش بر کنند-چنانچه بر طبق یرلیغ قضا تبلیغ در تمامي ممالک محروسه مناشیر حسب‌الحکم امضا پذیرفت-در حضور طرفه صحبتي رویداد که سرهنگان دیو سیرت در کوچه و بازار سرد اشان همراه و آب کشیف در ظروف کناسان نجاست دستگاه هر که مي یافتند به بے حرمتي ریشش مي تراشیدند و دستار و جامه اش مي کشیدند-منصدیان سرکار بادشاهي و بادشاهزاده هاے و دیگر هنود رو شناس در خانه هاے خود ریش دور کرده در حضوري آمدند الحاصل این هنگامه بالا گرفت و روز بروز زیاده تر مي گشت ناگاه در سواد لاهور ډیره دولت و اقبال بر پاشد و براے تیاري جشن جلوس میمنت مانوس حکم والا عز نفاذ یافت-

[رقعات امین‌الدوله-دستورالانشاء-۹-ب]

CHAPTER XV

Emperor Bahadur Shah at Lahore, His Death and After

Emperor Bahadur Shah, as we know, crossed the Beas at the ford of Rahilla[1] on the 23rd June, 1711, and passing through Kahnuwan, Kalanaur, Chamiari and Panjgarain, arrived at Lahore on the 11th August, 1711. The Emperor did not take up his residence in the fort of Lahore. His camp was pitched near the village of Anwala not far from the bank of the river Ravi, and his sons remained in their encampments outside the city. Muhammad Azim-ud-Din Azim-us-Shan took up a position near the village of Awan, surrounding himself by a fortification of treasure-carts. Muhammad Muazz-ud-Din was encamped near Parwezabad market, Rafi-us-Shan on the bank of the river near Bagh Dharmu or Dharmu's garden, and Muhammad Jahan Shah on the plain of Shah

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1 *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, i. 81; Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 25. Karam Singh has given the name of the ford as Sri Hargobindpur. (*Banda Bahadur*, 158.)

Mir Khush.[2]

On the 19th Rajab, 1123 (1st september, 1711), it was reported to the Emperor that Rustamdil Khan Ghazi Khan Rustam-i-Jang had returned to Lahore, without orders, from the expedition against Banda Singh and had taken up residence in his *haveli* in the city. Islam Khan Mir-i-Atish, Mahabat Khan Bahadur, Mukhlis Khan Bahadur and Sarbrah Khan Kotwal were ordered to arrest him. He was brought in during the night seated on a *rahkala*. Bahadur Shah ordered him to be imprisoned in the citadel of Lahore with fetters on his feet. 'On his way to prison, a number of men, who had suffered at his hands, cursed him and threw dust at him; but, true to his reckless character, he was not in the least disturbed. He occupied himself with inter-changing witticisms with the men in charge of him who were seated on the same elephant. Some of the by-standers shouted out "Pimp! Pimp!!" Now as Islam Khan was following him on another elephant, Rustamdil Khan retorted unabashed, "Which do you mean ? The Pimp in front or the one behind?" His office of (the first) Mir Tuzk was given to another Amir [Islam Khan] and Inayat-ullah Khan, the Khan-i-Saman or Lord Steward, was directed to confiscate his property. The amount

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2 Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, p. 25.

reported was 500 gold coins (*Ashrafis*), 1,36,000 Rupees, 11 elephants, 70 horses, 18 camels, some jewels and forty cart-loads of tents.' However, after three months, on the 20th Shawwal, 1123 (30th November, 1711), Rustamdil Khan was released and honoured with the title of 'Ghazanfar Khan' in place of his old titles.[3]

The Shiah innovation of the Emperor, by the addition of the word *wasi* or heirs as a title of Ali in the recital of Muhammad's successor in the public prayer for the sovereign recited every Friday in every mosque throughout the Empire, had for some time past been the cause of religious unrest. This never-ending controversy between the Sunnis and the Shiahs had already brought about riots at Ahmadabad and elsewhere; and, at Lahore, owing to the objection of the Sunni Mullas to the new form of prayer, no *Khutba*[4] had been read for some time. At first Bahadur Shah, on his arrival at Lahore, stuck fast to his resolve, arrested the *Khatib* or reciter of the prayer, and imprisoned him at Agra, and ordered Islam Khan Mir Atish to march to the Jameh Masjid on the next Friday with all his artillery and to see that the *Khutba* in its

[3] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 158a-b; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i. 120-1.

[4] *Khutba* is a sermon or oration delivered in a mosque after divine service on Friday in which the preacher blesses Muhamad, his successors and the reigning sovereign.

new form, with the addition of the word ***wasi***, was duly read. But finally the Emperor gave way. On the 2nd October, 1711, the *Khutba* in the old form, as in Aurangzeb's reign, was read and the threatening agitation came to an end.[5]

On the 14th Zi-ul-Hijja, (22nd January, 1712), the news arrived that Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur had fought a sanguinary battle with the Sikhs and had sent five hundred of their heads to the royal presence.[6] When and where this battle was fought is not mentioned in Kamwar Khan's *Tazkirat-us-Salatin*, nor any account of it has as yet been found in any other work.

Towards the middle of Zi-ul-Hijja, 1123 (the last week of January, 1712), the Emperor felt a slight indisposition and his health failed day by day. Preparations for the annual celebrations of his coronation were made, but he was unable to appear.[7] Later on his brain appears to have been affected every much. It would seem that he began to be troubled by delusions. One day, a month later, in the middle of Muharram, 1124 (last week of February, 1712), he took it into his head to give orders for killing all the dogs and donkeys in the camp and the city, and for expelling the Faqirs, the

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[5] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 159 a-b ; *Seir Mutaqherin*-Raymond, i. 19-21, Briggs, 18-19; Latif, *History of Lahore*, 70.

[6] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 159 b.

Jogis and the Sannyasis.[8] Hundreds of dogs[9] were killed every day. 'Amin-ud-din, whose tent was on the bank of the river, himself saw the city dogs at early dawn jumping into the river and swimming to the other side, only returning after dark to the houses of those who fed them.'[10]

The Emperor held his last Durbar on the 24th February, 1712. The next day he was reported to be ill. A great excitement and commotion prevailed among the Princes and Amirs during the three days of his illness. During the night of Monday the 21st Muharram,[11] 1124 (the 27-28th February, 1712), he breathed his last. His corpse

7-8 Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, p. 26.

9 The translators of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* have read the words *sag* سگ and sag-ha, سگها as *Sik* and *Sik-ha* and have translated the passage as follows :—'...........some alteration was perceived in his mind. It was about the middle of Muharrem. in the year 1124 of the Hedjra. One day, he took into his head to give orders for killing all the dogs in camp, as well as all those in the city of Lahore. As such an order, from so sensible a prince could not appear but very strange, people were willing to account for it by supporting that some witchcraft or enchantment had been practised upon his person. Such a state of things was more disagreeable, as the Sycks were becoming equally numerous and troublesome. Forbidden from coming into the city of Lahore, not one of them was to be seen in the day-time; but as soon as it was dark, they never failed to return to the houses of those that used to feed and cherish them.' (Raymond, i. 21-22; Briggs, 19-20.)

10 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i. 133.

11 Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 44a; Kamwar, *Tazkirah*.

was prepared for burial and laid in a coffin by Maulvi Murad-ullah, Mahfuz Khan and Abdul Qadir, but it lay unburied until the question of the successor to the throne had been decided. It was despatched to Delhi on the 5th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1124 (11th April, 1712), in the charge of Bibi Mehar Parwar, the Emperor's widow, and of Chin Qilich Muhammad Khan. It arrived at Delhi on the 15th May, 1712, when it was buried in the court-yard of the marble mosque erected by Aurangzeb near the shrine of Khwajah Qutub-ud-Din Bakhtiar Kaki.[12]

The death of Bahadur Shah was followed by the usual struggle among his sons for the throne. In a fight that took place outside the city walls, at Lahore, during 6-9th Safar, 1124 (14-17th March, 1712), the elephant of Azim-us-Shan, being wounded in the trunk by a cannon ball, became so restive and unmanageable that it threw itself down into the Ravi where the Prince and the animal were swallow-ed up by a quicksand. Ultimately Jahandar Shah, having surprised and slain his remaining brothers, Jahan Shah, and Rafi-us-Shan, in a battle fought on the 19th and 20th Safar, 1124 (27-28th March, 1712), ascended the throne on the 29th March, 1712.

Jahandar Shah's reign began with a series of

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[12] Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*; Kamwar, *Tazkirah; Later Mughals*, i. 135.

executions and imprisonments. But it was not to continue for long. Ten months afterwards the effeminate monarch was himself defeated by Farrukh Siyar, son of Azim-us-Shan. With the help of the Sayyed brothers, Hussain Ali and Abdulla, he put his uncle to death on the 17th Muharram, 1125 (11th February, 1713), to avenge the death of his father, and ascended the throne of Delhi.

The period of struggle for the Imperial throne and the disturbed state of affairs at Lahore and Delhi, from February 1712 to the summer of 1713, when Abdu-s-Samad Khan laid siege to Sadhaura, was very favourable for the re-establishment of the power of the Khalsa. After the evacuation of the fort of Lohgarh, Banda Singh had reappeared, as we know, in the neighbourhood of Raipur and Bahrampur, and killed Shamas Khan Kheshgi and moratally wounded his uncle Bayzid Khan, the Faujdar of Jammu, in the battle offered by both of them. The Khalsa had overrun the parganahs of Kalanaur and Batala before the arrival of Bahadur Shah at Lahore and had pushed on as far as Pasrur, whence they had entered into the eastern craggy mountains of Jammu, beyond the reach of their pursuer Muhammad Amin Khan.

On the death of Bahadur Shah, Muhammad Amin Khan returned to Lahore to take part in the struggle for succession, and the Khalsa emerged

from their retreats to establish once again their lost power. Banda Singh availed himself of the opportunity and occupied Sadhaura without any loss of time. The agility with which he moved in the craggy mountains appears to have been wonderful. From the vicinity of Jammu he managed to reach Sadhaura in a marvelously short time. After capturing Sadhaura, the fort of Lohgarh was repaired and it once more enjoyed the dignity of a Sikh Capital for over two years.[13]

[13] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*; Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 44 a.

CHAPTER XVI

The Siege of Sadhaura and Lohgarh

After the accession of Jahandar Shah, Muhammad Amin Khan was sènt back to continue the campaign against Banda Singh, and Zain-ud-Din Ahmad Khan, the Faujdar of the *Chakla* of Sirhind, was ordered to place himself under his command. In addition to his own forces, every available man of the Imperial army who could be spared from Delhi, and the troops of the province of Lahore were placed at their disposal. For several months the two commanders maintained a close investment of Sadhaura and the fort of Lohgarh, but in spite of all efforts, they failed to make any effect upon the besieged. The Khalsa stood fast to their ground and repulsed the repeated attacks of the Imperial forces to drive them out. At last, towards the end of the year 1124 A. H. (December, 1712), when Emperor Jahandar Shah moved towards Akbarabad (Agra) to oppose the advance of Farrukh Siyar, Muhammad Amin Khan was recalled to join the Imperial camp. The expedition against the Sikhs

had to be practically suspended, although Zain-ud-Din Ahmad Khan had been left there to continue it to the best of his ability.[1]

The struggle between Jahandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar resulted in the defeat (10th January, 1713) and murder (11th February, 1713) of the former. The reign of Farrukh Siyar, which began with a series of murders and a terrible famine in the country, 'is remarkable,' says Miss Corner, 'for the cruel policy adopted with regard to the Sikhs.'[2] On the recall of Muhammad Amin Khan towards Agra, Zain-ud-Din Ahmad Khan had been left there to continue the campaign, but he could not accomplish anything. Banda Singh, at this time, had a little respite, but he did not waste it in idleness. He availed himself of this opportunity to raise a fort of respectable size close to the town of Sadhaura, where he offered a stout resistance to the Imperial forces and maintained his position in spite of all the efforts of the Faujdar of Sirhind.

The fighting spirit and the power of resistance of the Sikh garrison in the fort of Sadhaura was simply wonderful. They would continue their fire upon the enemy even while they were cooking and eating, unmindful of the inclemency of weather.

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[1] Harisi, 44 a.

[2] *History of India and China*, 296.

Finding that his cannon-balls made no impressipn on the fort walls, Zain-ud-Din Ahmad Khan advanced his trenches within forty or fifty yards of the fort. Here he formed a battery, placeed a heavy siege gun in position and opened incessant fire upon the Sikhs. Although the fire wss still ineffectual, the Sikh garrison, 'out of mere bravado and to show their valour, resolved to remove this cannon in such a way that no one should hear a sound or know how they had done it.' They dug out a subterranean passage exactly opposite the position where the cannon stood. Yokes of bullocks and cart-ropes were kept ready to be used at a moment's notice. It was the rainy season. One dark night, when nothing could be seen or heard on account of heavy rain and the besiegers dared not put their heads outside the tents, the Sikhs found their opportunity to drag the cannon in. At midnight they pierced through the remaining wall of earth and ranged yokes of bullocks, one before the other, in the subterranean passage. Then some of them, unmindful of the heavy showers of rain and the piercing wind, swam across the moat of the fort, in which the water was rushing down with great force, and reached the besiegers' earthen battery. They tied their ropes firmly to the gun-carriage and crossed back in the same manner to their own safe position.

The bullocks then began to pull. The cannon with its carriage was set in motion and rolled down towards the underground passage. But, unfortunately, on reaching the bottom, the ropes tied to them broke off and the gun and carriage fell apart, causing a loud noise which roused the sleepy sentinels. The disappearance of the cannon caused a confusion in the besiegers' camp, and they ran in all directions to search for it. Through the mud and mire, Zain-ud-Din soon arrived on the spot in a confused state. He was on foot and without a torch, the water in some places coming upto his waist, and a heavy shower of rain pouring from above. He could not order the torches to be lighted as they would expose him to the fire of the Sikhs, and without light nothing could be seen. However, after much search it was found that the cannon and its carriage were lying upside down in the ditch at the foot of the earth-work. Zain-ud-Din now collected his senses and offered rewards of fifty rupees each to one hundred camp followers if they would recover the cannon. And it was with much difficulty that they dragged it out and removed it to a place of safety.[3]

The siege dragged on for some time more when, in order to put more life into the expedition, a

[3] *Annonymous Historical Fragments*, *Farrukh Siyar Namah* and Kamwar's *Tazkirah* as quoted by Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i. 308-9.

change in the command was made with the change in the governorship of Lahore.

Having secured himself on the throne of Delhi, Farrukh Siyar directed his attention to the affairs in the *Chakla* of Sirhind. On the 27th Muharram, 1125, (22nd February, 1713), he appointed Abd-us-Samad Khan Diler-i-Jang as the Governor of Lahore in place of Zabardast Khan, and Zakriya Khan, son of Abd-us-Samad Khan, as the Faujdar of Jammu. At the time of his departure, the Emperor instructed him 'to expell Banda from Sadhaura, or, if possible, to destroy him altogether.'[4]

Saif-ud-Daula Abd-us-Samad Khan Bahadur Diler-i-Jang, a descendant of Khwaja Ahrar of Turan, was a brother-in-law of Itmad-ud-Daula Muhammad Amin Khan Bahadur, whose wife was a sister of his wife, both being the daughters of his uncle Khwaja Zakriya. He had come to India in the reign of Aurangzeb and at first had the rank of 400. In Bahadur Shah's reign he rose to the rank of 700. In the war of succession between the sons of Bahadur Shah, he joined Zulfiqar Khan and distinguished himself by slaying Prince Jahan Shah. His meritorious services in the struggle

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[4] 'He was appointed to finish the campaign against the Sikh Chief who from the time of Bahadur Shah had practised various kinds of oppressions in the country over both Muhammadans and Hindus.' *Maasir-ul-Umra*, ii. 515; Beveridge, *Trans.*, 72.

between Jahandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar won him the rank of five thousand, with five thousand horse and the title of Diler-i-Jang, and he was made the Governor of Lahore.[5]

When he arrived at Sadhaura, the siege laid by Zain-ud-Din Ahmad had not advanced much. Banda Singh himself occupied the fort of Lohgarh, while his followers held Sadhaura. Finding that he could not successfully attack both the postions, Sadhaura and Lohgarh, at the same time, Abd-us-Samad Khan thought it advisable to attack them one after the other. The combined forces of Abd-us-Samad Khan, Zain-ud-Din Ahmad Khan and the other Mughal commanders, who had been sent by the Emperor to reinforce the new governor, and an innumerable host of local militia surrounded the fort of Sadhaura from all sides. Now when Banda Singh saw that the Sikhs in Sadhaura would not be able to hold out for long for want of rations, he sent out three or four divisions every other day, and sometimes every day, from Lohgarh for their relief. And, when the Sikhs besieged in Sadhaura saw these troops in the distance or the dust raised by them, they rushed out on all four sides and boldly fell upon the besieging force. But as they were at a great disadvantage

[5] *Maasir-ul-Umra*, ii. 514-5, Beveridge, 71-2.

in their numerical strength, these sorties, however vigorous, could not make much impression upon the innumerable odds. Their supplies soon began to run short. They had been under the impression that, as heretofore, they could bring in at any time whatever they wanted, and that no one could dare prevent them in this. They had not, therefore, collected sufficient stock of provisions. With the arrival of Abd-us-Samad Khan and his reinforcements from Delhi and other quarters, it became practically impossible to bring in anything through their lines. Their already insufficient stores in the fort of Sadhaura were now soon exhausted, and they were driven to the only alternative of evacuating the fort for a better position in Lohgarh. At last in the first week of October, 1713, they rushed out in a force and made a determined sally upon the Zamindari militia. Hired levies could hardly stand against self-sacrificing warriors. It was not easy for them to oppose successfully the desperate Khalsa who cut through their lines and escaped without much loss.[6]

During this long siege of Sadhaura a fight was reported to the Emperor by a messenger, Kesho Rao, on the 15th Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 1125

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[6] *Farrukh Siyar Namah*; Kamwar *Tazkirah*, Irvine, i. 309-10.

(8th July, 1713). It seems that when on the 9th Jamadi-ul-Akhir (2nd July) a detachment of the Sikhs was sent by Banda Singh to relieve the Sikhs of Sadhaura, a division of the Imperial troops proceeded to obstruct their passage. The fight that ensued cost the Imperial commander his life and Baqa Beg Khan and several others fell dead on the field.[7]

On the evacuation of the fort of Sadhaura, Abd-us-Samad Khan and Zain-ud-Din Ahmad Khan followed the Sikhs at once to the fort of Lohgarh. As if previously arranged, Banda Singh retreated, on the arrival of his followers from Sadhaura, into the hills and was soon beyond the reach of the Imperial force. 'While a camping ground was being selected by the Imperialists, water was sought for, and preparations were in progress for beginning to dig a ditch and throw up earth-works, a party of horsemen rode off in the most reckless fashion towards some high ground from which they expected to obtain a better view of the Sikh position. As soon as they appeared on the high ground, the Sikhs streamed down the further side of the hill and disappeared. This flight became the more inexplicable when the Imperialists saw the elaborate preparations for resistance. From the first ridge

[7] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 170 b.

upto the wall of Lohgarh itself, they had built fifty-two defensive posts, arranged in such a manner that each protected the other, thus exposing an assailant to a deadly fire throughout his advance.' For fear of the Sikhs turning back upon their heels and pouncing upon their pursuers, their pursuit, as it seems, was delayed for several days; and later on, when a search was made through the hill country, no trace could be found of them. The fall of Sadhaura and the escape of Banda Singh and the Sikhs was reported to the Emperor at Delhi on the 20th Ramzan, 1125 (9th October, 1713).[8]

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[8] *Anony. Frag.—Farrukh Siyar Namah*, Kamwar, 171 b; Irvine, i. 310.

CHAPTER XVII

Kiri Pathan, Rupar and Batala

After the fall of Sadhaura and Lohgarh Abd-us-Samad Khan proceeded to Lahore and deputed his son Zakriya Khan, Faujdar of Jammu, to carry his report of the expedition against the Sikhs to Emperor Farrukh Siyar at Delhi. Zakriya Khan presented his father's report and a number of heads of the Sikhs, on the 26th Zi-ul-Qada, 1125 (13th December, 1713). He was honoured by an increase of his rank to three thousand *Zat* with one thousand horse, with a special dress of honour, an aigrette, a banner and a drum. Again on the 29th Zi-ul-Hijja, 1125 (15-16th January, 1714), he received a dress of honour along with Muzaffar Khan brother of Samsam-ud-Daula Qamrud-din Khan, Raja Chhabila Ram, Gandharb Singh and Rustam Khan, and was ordered to accompay the Amir-ul-Umra Hussain Ali Khan on his expedition to Rajputana.

A few months later Abd-us-Samad Khan also arrived at Delhi in person after the termination of an expedition towards Multan. Mir Jumla was sent

out to receive him in the capital. He was presented to His Majesty on the 20th Safar, 1126 (6th March, 1714), receiving the usual gifts, and on the 24th Safar (March 10th), he received a dress of honour (*khillat*), head-dress (*sar-pech*), a jewelled sword, a horse and an elephant, and was posted to the army then proceeding to Rajputana.[1]

The decline of the Sikh power and the official persecution of the Sikhs gave an impetus to the Muhammadans, officials and others, all over the country, to persecute them remorselessly. The pinch of oppression was felt the most in the Majha and the Rearki, where almost every Muhammadan considered it his secred duty to add, in whatever way he could, to the miseries of the Sikhs. The parganahs of Kalanaur, Batala and Kahnuwan in the present district of Gurdaspur had, for about a century and a half, been the strongholds of Muhammadan power and the residents of these places have been second to none in their Islamic zeal.

Most of the leading persons who fanned the fire of Muslim bigotry against the Sikhs on this side belonged to the village of Kiri Pathan Basdi Umar Ghazi in the parganah of Kahnuwan. The Sikhs of the neighbourhood, therefore, collected under the

[1] Kamwar, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin*, 172 a.—173 a.

leadership of Jagat Singh of this parganah and resolved to punish them. On the 12th Rabi-ul-awwal, 1126 (27th March, 1714), Sardar Jagat Singh, with a detachment of Sikhs, his brothers and servants, fell upon the village and entered the Garhi or the fortress of the Pathans. The resistance offered by the Pathans was soon overpowered. Muhammad Is'haq was slain in the scufflle. Booty worth about sixty thousand, in cash and in kind, belonging to the residents of the village and to those of the neighbouring villages, who had deposited their belongings in the fortress for safety, fell into the hands of the Sikhs. Many well-to-do people left their homes and fled away.[2]

A fortnight after this event Abd-us-Samad Khan and his son Zakriya Khan returned from the Rajputana expedition and received dresses of honour on the 26th Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1126 (8th June, 1714), at Delhi, and on the 14th Jamadi-ul-Akhir (26th June) the two nobles were sent off to the Punjab with orders 'for the chastisement of that sect of mean and detestable Sikhs.'[3]

Two months after Abd-us-Smad Khan's departure from His Majesty's presence at Delhi for the seat

[2] The Petition signed by the residents of Kiri Pathan Basdi Umar Ghazi and the neighbouring villages.

[3] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 173 b.

of his Government at Lahore, news was received from Sirhind on the 16th Sha'ban, 1126 (26th August, 1714), that a body of Sikhs, said to be about 7,000 in number, had attacked Rupar, a town on the left bank of the river Sutlej. Khwaja Mukaaram, Deputy of Zain-ud-Din Ahmad Khan of Sirhind, came out to meet them and is said to have made a good defence. About two hundred Sikhs were killed in the fight and the rest were forced to retreat.[4]

Banda Singh was now spending his time in the Jammu hills at a place, now called Dera Baba Banda Singh Sahib,[5] about two miles to the south-east of

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[4] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 174 b; *Farrukh Siyar Namah*, fol. 21 b, as quoted by Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i. 311. In the absence of a more detailed account, it cannot be said whether Banda Singh was present in this action.

[5] The village of Dera Baba Banda Singh is situated on the left bank of the Chenab at the point where it takes a turn towards Akhnur. It lies about 28 miles north-west of Jammu, 14 miles south-west of Katra, about 7 miles south of Riasi and 3 miles west of Kanjli, and is surrounded by the villages of Bhabbar, Mausuh and Seri in a semicircle to the north-west, north and the east, with the Chenab to the south and south-west.

A beautiful white memorial, in the form of a *Gurdwara*, also called Dera Baba Banda Singh, stands at the place where Banda Singh is believed to have spent his days of retirement. A few paces to the west of it is pointed out the place where, on his arrival here, he is said to have first struck his spear. The descendants of Banda Singh hold the village in rent-free *Jagir*, granted on the 16th Phagan, 1890, Bikrami, 1834, A. D., during the reign of King Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. The present head of the Dera is Baba Sardul Singh Sodhi.

Bhabbar, waiting for a favourable opportunity to strike a blow for the independence of his people and the re-establishment of his power. No detailed account of his activities from October, 1713, to February, 1715, is available, except that he solemnized a second marriage with Sahib Kaur, the daughter of a Khatri of Wazirabad, of whom his second son Ranjit Singh was born in due course. The allegation of Bhai Gyan Singh, the author of the *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* and the *Panth Prakash*, that Banda Singh at this time proclaimed himself as the Guru of the Sikhs does not stand the test of historical scrutiny based upon original authentic accounts of better-informed contemporary writers, official and private. Nor is there any evidence available of his visit to Amritsar where he is alleged to have assumed the manners and attitude of a Guru. It may also be mentioned here that there is absolutely nothing in the contemporary or the earliest available records—official diaries and chronologies, State and family histories, personal memoirs, etc.—to show that any negotiations were, at this time or at any other time, carried on between Farrukh Siyar and Mother Sundri, the widow of Guru Govind Singh, or that any conflict took place between Banda Singh and Mother Sundri or the Khalsa. The fact seems to be that his introduction

of *Fateh Darshan* and its subsequent rejection by the Khalsa, his personal prejudice in favour of the vegetarianism (like many of the *Viveki* and the *Namdhari* Sikhs of today), the difference of opinion in the council of war in the fortress of Gurdas Nangal, and the conflict between the Bandei and the other Khalsas *after* the death of Banda Singh, appear to have given rise to idle gossips of Banda Singh's lapses and excommunication, which have of late been accepted as true history by ill-informed writers. Leaving the discussion on these points for the concluding chapter, let us proceed with our narrative.

Khidmat-talab Khan was about this time appointed the Faujdar of Sirhind in place of Zain-ud-Din Ahmad Khan. He employed a large force to watch the issuing of Sikhs from the hills. But, as the Sikhs had lost their strong places and their stores of food and fodder in the plains and the supporters of the Mughal cause in the country had risen up against them throughout the land, it became impossible for them to subsist. They had, therefore, no other course left but to retire to the hills.[6]

In the beginning of the year 1715,[7] after about

[6] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i.311; Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 176 a.

[7] At this time Banda Singh is said to have left his second wife Sahib Kaur at the Dera on account of her pregnancy, and his

[*Continued on page 197.*

fifteen months' sojourn in tht hills, Banda Singh and the Sikhs reappeared in the plains from the direction of Jammu and marched towards Kalanaur. On receipt of the news, Faujdar Suhrab Khan of Kalanaur, his Qanungo Santokh Rai, and Anokh Rai, brother of the latter, collected a large force of mercenaries, religious zealots and levies from the parganah and its neighbourhood. But, with the very first blow of the Sikhs, they were scattered to the winds. Suhrab Khan, Santokh Rai and Anokh Rai fled from the field of action to save their lives, and Kalanaur fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The old officials were replaced by Sikh officials, and a sufficient number of horse and foot were left there for the maintenance of peace and order.[8]

Passing through Achal, Banda Singh next marched towards Batala. Its Faujdar Shaikh Muhammad Dayam came out to encounter the Sikh force. A bloody battle was fought for about six hours, and there was great bloodshed on both sides. Many from among the nobility of Batala were killed. None of the Zamindars and commanders could resist

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Continued from page 196.]

second son Baba Ranjit Singh was born here after his departure. His first wife and son, Ajai Singh, however, accompanied him on his expeditions, and Ajai Singh was martyred with him at Delhi on the 19th June, 1716, N. S.

[8] Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 41; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, i. 80.

the Sikhs in the field of battle. Muhammad Dayam was defeated and he fled away in dismay to his home in the town of Bharowal. Batala and its neighbourhood were occupied. Most of the residents, rich and poor, forsook their homes and sought shelter in the neighbouring villages with their relatives. Many went to Lahore, and many, having no place of refuge, went towards the hills of Chamba and Dasuha (Dasuya in the district of Hoshiarpur).[9]

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[9] Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 41; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, i. 80.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Siege and Fall of Gurdas Nangal

The reports of the re-appearance of the Sikhs and their conquests in the Punjab were now regularly pouring in at the court of Delhi to the great alarm of Emperor Farrukh Siyar and his Amirs. Out of fear, or for some other reason, Abd-us-Samad Khan Diler-i-Jang, Governor of Lahore, had taken no measures to deal with them. At this time he had marched southwards to the Lakkhi Jungle to repress an outbreak of the Bhatti Zamindars, probably to avoid a conflict with Banda Singh. The Emperor now administered a sharp reproof to him on the 15th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1127 (20th March, 1715) and ordered Qamr-ud-Din Khan, son of Itmad-ud-Daulla Muhammad Amin Khan, Afrasiyab Khan the third *Bakhshi*, Muzaffar Khan, Raja Udet Singh Bundela, Raja Gopal Singh Bhadauriya and many other Hindu and Muslim nobles to proceed with their respective troops to the Punjab to reinforce Diler-i-Jang in his expedition against the Sikhs.[1] Imperial

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[1] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 176 a-b.

parwanas were also addressed to the various Faujdars and Jagirdars in the Punjab to join their troops with him. On receipt of these orders, Mirza Ahmad Khan, Faujdar of Gujrat, at the head of a large number of Sayyeds well-equipped with the implements of war, Iradatmand Khan Faujdar of Eminabad, Nur Muhammad Khan of Aurangabad and Pasrur, Shaikh Muhammad Dayam of Batala, Sayyed Hafeez Ali Khan of Haibatpur Patti, Suhrab Khan of Kalanaur, Raja Bhim Singh of Katauch, and Har Deva, son of Raja Dhrub Deva of Jasrota, assembled their forces at Lahore. Arif Beg Khan, Deputy Governer of Lahore, came out of the city and camped near Shah Ganj, perhaps, waiting for the arrival of Abd-us-Samad Khan from the south.[2]

Banda Singh, on the other side, was not unaware of the preparations being made at Lahore. He had, therefore, decided to throw up a mud fortification at Kot Mirza Jan, a small village between Kalanaur and Batala. But before its defences could be complete, the combind forces of the above Faujdars under the chief command of Abd-us-Samad Khan and his deputy Arif Beg fell upon the Sikhs. 'Banda,' says the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* 'stood his ground to the amazement of all, and in the first engagement he fought so heroically that he was

2 Qasim, *Ibrat Namah,* 41 ; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh,* 90.

very near giving a complete defeat to the Imperial General; for although vigorously pursued, he retired from post to post, like a savage of wilderness from thicket to thicket, losing endlessly his men, and occasioning losses to his persuers.' And, according to Khafi Khan, 'the infidels fought so fiercely that the army of Islam was nearly overpowered; and they over and over again showed the greatest daring.' But they had no place of defence, and were, therefore, forced to evacuate their positions and fall back upon Gurdas pur.[3]

The actual place of their retreat was the old village of Gurdas Nangal, now a heap of ruins, known as ***Bande-wali Theh***, lying one mile to the west of the present village of Gurdas Nangal, about four miles to the west of the town of Gurdaspur, and about one mile from the villages of Nawapind, Purowal Rajputan, Purowal Jattan and Kalianpur to the north-east, north, north-west and south-west respectively. It had no regular

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[3] Qasim, *Ibrat Namah* 41-2, *Risala Sahib Numa*, 195; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, 90; *Seir Mutaqherin*, Raymond 88; Briggs 77; *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab* ii. 762; Elliot, vii. 456. It may be mentioned here that Muhammad Qasim, the author of the *Ibrat Namah*, which is one of our original sources and has been so often referred to, was present in these operations and at the siege of Gurdas Nangal, being then in the service of Arif Beg Khan, Deputy Governor of Lahore.

fort.[4] The Sikhs had, therefore, to shelter themselves in the *ihata* or enclosure of Bhai Duni Chand. Fortunately for Banda Singh and his companions, the enclosure, with a strong massive wall around it, was spacious enough to accommodate all his men. Banda Singh made every effort to strengthen his defences and collect stores of rations and ammunition. To keep the enemy at a respectable distance from his fortifications, he surrounded it by a moat filled from the neighbouring canal. He also cut the Imperial Canal, called the *Shahi Nahar*, and other small streams flowing from below the hills and allowed the water to spread and form a quagmire round the place so that the enemy--the man or horse—could not easily come close to the enclosure.[5]

On the 13th Rabi-ul-Akhir, 1127 (17th April, 1715), reports were received by Emperor Farrukh Siyar at Delhi that Abd-us-Samad Khan had followed

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[4] 'Their chief,' says the author of the *Seir Mutaqherin*, 'had long ago built a strong castle, in which they kept their wives and families with the booty they used to make in their course' (Raymond p. 89), while according to Cunningham it was built during the reign of Jahandar Shah (p. 93). Forster (p. i. 266) and Malcolm (p. 81) confound it with the fort of Lohgarh (Mukhlispur-Sadhaura). We have followed Muhammad Qasim, whose reliability, as he was present in these operations, cannot be questioned.

[5] Qasim, *Ibrat Namah*, 42; *Risala Sahib Numa*, 195; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, 90; Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 279.

the Sikhs to their new position at Gurdas Nangal [Gurdaspur] and that the Imperial Amirs were busy in digging trenches and raising mounds for the siege. He asked Itmad-ud-Daula to write to Abd-us-Samad Khan to kill or imprison the Sikh Chief and his followers.[6]

When Abd-us-samad Khan and his allies arrived at Gurdas Nangal, many of the Sikhs were out in the villages for the collection of supplies. Numbers of them fell into the hands of the Imperialists, columns of whom were scouring the country in search of them. They were brought into the camp and executed with every indignity and cruelty.[7]

The enclosure containing the Sikhs was immediately surrounded and blockaded, and the besiegers kept 'so watchful a guard that not a blade of grass, nor a grain of corn, could find its way in.' Occasionally Abd-us-samad Khan and his son Zakriya Khan, at the head of several thousand troopers of their own nation and the forces of their allies, attempted to storm the Sikh position, but their attempts were defeated by compratively a handful of Sikhs, who showed the greatest activity in their defence. Muhammad Qasim, the auther of the *Ibrat Namah*, who was in the service of Arif Beg Khan, Deputy Governor of Lahore, and who was at this time present in these

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6 Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 176 b.

7 *Ibrat Namah*, 42.

operations, writes: 'The brave and daring deeds of the infernal Sikhs were wonderful. Twice or thrice every day some forty or fifty of the black-faced Sikhs came out of their enclosure to gather grass for their cattle, and, when the combined forces of the Imperialists went to oppose them, they [Sikhs] made an end of the Mughals with arrows, muskets and small swords, and disappeared. Such was the terror of the Sikhs and the fear of the sorceries of the Sikh Chief that the commanders of this army prayed that God might so ordain things that Banda [Singh] should seek his safety in his flight from the Garhi.'[8] These brave sorties and further progress of the investment were reported to the Emperor in a letter received at Delhi on the 26th Rabi-ul-Akhir, 1127 (30th April, 1715).'[9]

'Abd-us-Samad Khan soon perceived that no less than thirty thousand men would be required to prevent the escape of the besieged. The reinforcements brought by Qamr-ud-Din were therefore very welcome. When the line of investment was carried to within cannon-shot of the [so called] fortress, the work of closing it in on all sides was divided among the various commanders. Abd-us-Samad Khan took one side, Qamr-ud-Din

[8] *Ibrat Namah*, 42.

[9] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 176 b.

Khan and Zakriya Khan received charge of two sides, and the fourth side was made over to the Faujdars and Zamindars. United efforts being necessary, the tents were pitched close together all round the fort and rope was joined to rope.'[10]

Abd-us-Samad Khan now raised batteries and pushed forward his approaches, while the Sikhs, on the other side, maintained a steady defence and exhibited great courage and daring, pouring missiles, night and day, into the enemy's camp. They made frequent sallies into the besiegers' trenches and killed a great number of them. To protect themselves and their horses and other animals, the soldiers of the Imperial forces threw up an earth bank, ten to twenty yards long, before each tent and sheltered themselves behind it. Slowly and slowly, unnoticed by the Sikhs, they closed all the openings between each shelter, and before the Sikhs were aware of it, they were surrounded as if by a wall. The Sikhs on several occasions showed the greatest boldness and daring to sweep the obstacles away, and carried away from the besiegers' camp whatever they could lay their hands on. Baba Binod Singh occasionally came out of the enclosure and carried away *Shirini* and other eatables from the bazzar of the besiegers' camp. The whole of the

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[10] *Farrukh Siyar Namah*, as quoted by Irvine, i. 313.

camp was wonder-struck at the boldness of the old Sikh. All efforts to capture him proved futile. If they kept vigilance in the morning, he descended upon them in the evening, and if they remained watchful in the evening, he attacked them in the afternoon; and every time he was off before they could rise to the occasion.[11] 'So bold and indomitable were the Gurus' followers, that they impressed their adversaries with the greatest respect for their fighting qualities. It was feared that the garrison might, by a sortie *en masse* and by sacrificing themselves, secure the escape of their leader [Banda Singh].' Not only this, but the superstitious soldiery were convinced that he was possessed of great magical powers by which he could turn himself into the shape of a dog or a cat, and it was under this belief that they rushed upon every dog or cat coming from the Sikh enclosure, and were not satisfied till it fell dead under their stones and arrows. Thus the siege and struggle continued for several months, and there was great loss on both sides.[12]

By slow degrees, the approaches of the besiegers had by now been rushed forward a musket-shot nearer to the walls, and it was resolved to surround the Sikh enclosure with a field work. A thousand

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11 *Mahma Prakash* (Poetry), 613 a-b.

12 *Farrukh Siyar Namah;* Khafi Khan ii. 762-3; Yahiya Khan, *Tazkirat-ul-Maluk*, Irvine, i. 314.

axe-men and a thousand carpenters were employed in cutting trees, and two thousand camels were used in carrying wood and earth to the spot. When the circle round the enclosure had been completed, mounds of earth were raised on the trunks of the trees, from distance to distance, and a deep and wide ditch was dug at the foot of the stockade. In spite of all blockades and obstacles on the part of the besiegers, the Sikhs continued their sallies and inflicted heavy losses upon their opponents. Their defence was so strong and they poured so deadly a fire from within that the Imperialists dared not appear in the open to attack and storm their position. Abd-us-Samad Khan had lost all hopes of success against so determined and valiant a foe. All his efforts to approach the gate and walls of the Sikh enclosure had failed. The only alternative left to him was to approach it by underground means. He, therefore, ordered to drive subterranean passages towards the corners of the *ihata*. This was comparatively successful. Before Abd-us-Samad Khan's approaches had reached the main gate, Qamr-ud-Din Khan succeeded in capturing the ditch and a bastion, from which the musketry fire of the garrison had done great execution. Zakriya Khan obtained possession of a second gate, the one chiefly used by the garrison. Other

commanders and Faujdars also advanced their works, and the Sikhs were hemmed in from all sides.[13]

So close was the investment now, that it became impossible for the Sikhs to bring in anything from outside. Their confinement for eight long months had exhausted their already small stock of provisions, 'not a grain being left in their store-house.' Famine now commenced its ravages amongst the besieged Sikhs and they were reduced to great extremities. They are said to have made overtures to the Muhammadan soldiers, from over their walls, to buy a little grain from them at the rate of two or three rupees a seer. But this could not help them, and they begen to suffer the utmost extremes of hunger.[14]

At this stage a difference of opinion is said to have occurred between Binod Singh and Banda Singh. A very frivolous cause is assigned to it by the author of the *Mahma Prakash*. He says that Banda Singh expressed a desire to marry a second wife. But it cannot be believed that he could have thought of marriage in the pitiable plight to which he was then reduced, starving to the point of death.

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[13] *Farrukh Siyar Namah*, Irvine, i. 314.

[14] Khafi Khan, ii. 762-3, Elliot, vii. 457; *Maasir-ul-Umra*, ii. 516; Ansari, *Bahr-ul-Mawwaj*, 228 a; Forster, *Travels*, i. 266; *Risala Sahib Numa*, 196; *Prachin Panth Parkash*, 182-4; Irvine, i. 314.

Apparently it arose in a council of war over the proposal of evacuating the enclosure and following their old tactics of cutting through the enemy's lines for a place of safety. Banda Singh, it seems, was not in favour of it, for reasons best known to him, while Binod Singh stuck to his own. Hot words were exchanged between the two, and then their hands went to the hilts of their swords. At this moment, Kahan Singh, son of Binod Singh, stepped in between his father and Banda Singh. It was decided that one of them should leave the place. Binod Singh accepted the decision, and, mounting his horse, he rode out of the enclosure, and, with sword in hand, he cut through the besiegers all alone and was off in an instant.[15]

The difference was now overcome, but there was no remedy for the distress of hunger which was increasing day by day. In the absence of grain, horses, asses and other animals were converted into food and eaten. 'Also as the Sikhs were not strict observers of caste,' says Irvine on the authority of Khafi Khan, 'they slaughtered oxen and other animals, and not having any fire-wood, ate the flesh raw. Many died of dysentery and privation. When all the grass was gone, they gathered leaves

[15] Sarup Chand, *Mahma Prakash*; Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, 176-7; Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, v. 252.

from trees. When these were consumed, they stripped the bark and broke off the small shoots, dried them, ground them and used them instead of flour, thus keeping the body and soul together. They also collected the bones of animals and used them in the same way. Some assert that they saw a few of them cutting flesh from their own thighs, roasting it, and eating it.' 'In spite of all this, the infernal Sikh Chief and his men,' says Kamwar Khan, 'withstood all the military force that the great Mughal Empire could muster against them for eight long months.' But how long could this continue? After all they were human beings. Their never-ending starvation and the devouring of uneatable and unconsumable things, like the flesh of hoofed animals, grass, leaves, bark and shoots of trees, and dry bones of dead animals wrecked their physical system and produced a bloody flux which carried them away by hundreds and thousands. The abnoxious smell of putrid bodies of the dead and dying men and animals made the place uninhabitable. The survivors were reduced to mere skeletons. They were all half-dead, unable to use their muskets. Their magazines were emptied of their contents and it became practically impossible for them to offer any resistance and continue the

defence any longer.[16]

At last on Wednesday the 21st Zi-ul-Hijja, 1127 (17th December, 1715), the Sikh enclosure at Gurdas Nangal, the so-called fortress of Gurdaspur, fell into the hands of the besiegers. The surviving Sikhs in the *ihata*, as we know, had been physically incapacitated and disabled to contiune the defence, but the Imperialists were still benumbed with terror and they dared not enter their enclosure. Abd-us-Samad Khan promised to intercede with the Emperor for a free pardon for them. But, when the gates were

[16] *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, ii. 763; Irvine, i. 315.

According to the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 'the besiegers kept so watchful a guard that not a blade of grass, nor a grain of corn, could find its way to the fort; and the magazines within being at last emptied of their contents as the blockade drew to a length, a famine commenced its ravages amongst the besieged, who fell at eating anything that came in their way. Asses, horses, and even oxen became food, and what is incredible, cows were devoured. Nevertheless such was the animosity of those wild beasts, and such their consciousness of what they had deserved, that not one of them would talk of a surrender. But everything within, even to the most loathsome, having already been turned into food, and this having produced bloody flux that swept them by shoals.' (*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 402, Raymond i. 89, Briggs, 78.) Also see *Miftah-ul-Tawarikh*, 398; Cunningham, 93-4; Latif, *History the Punjab*, 279; *Sikhon ka Utthan aur Pattan*, 69.

Mirza Muhammad Harisi writes in his *Swaneh* or the *Ibrat Namah* that Banda Singh offered to pay a large sum to Abd-us-Samad Khan if he allowed him to escape, and that the latter refused to accept the bribe. This statement of Mirza Harisi is not supported by any other writer on the subject.

opened, the besieged including Banda Singh were made prisoners. The Imperialists fell upon the half-dead Sikhs like hungry wolves. Abd-us-Samad Khan had some two or three hundred of them bound hand and foot and made over to the Mughal and Tartar soldiers, who 'put them to the sword and filled that extensive plain with blood as if it had been a dish.' The dead bodies of the Sikhs were ripped open in search of gold coins, supposed to have been swallowed by them, and their heads were then stuffed with hay and mounted on spears.[17]

This news of the fall of the so-called fort, sent in by Abd-us-Samad Khan, was reported to the Emperor Farrukh Siyar at Delhi by Muhammad Amin Khan on the 26th Zi-ul-Hijja, 1128 (22nd December, 1715), at the very time when he was celebrating the

[17]Kamwar, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin*, 178 a - 179 b; Khafi Khan, *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, ii. 763-5; Elliot, vii. 457; Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 45 a; Iradat Khan, *Memoirs*, 144; *Bahar-ul-Mawwaj*, 228 a; Irvine, i. 315; Latif, 279.

According to the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 'the Imperial General ordered them to repair to an eminence, where they would see a pair of colours planted, and where they were to depose their arms and clothes, after which they might repair to his camp. The famished wretches, obliged to comply with an order which foreboded nothing good, obeyed punctually like beasts reduced to their last shift, and having been made fast hand and foot, they were made over to his Moghuls or Tartars, who had orders to carry them close to the river that ran under their walls, and there to throw the bodies after having beheaded them all. (Raymond, i. 89; Briggs, 78.)

anniversary of his victory over Jahandar Shah. 'It was by the grace of God, and not by wisdom or bravery,' says Kamwar Khan, 'that this came to happen. Otherwise, it is known to every one that the late Emperor Bahadur Shah, with the four royal princes and numerous high officials, had made efforts to repress this rebellion, but it was all fruitless, and now that infidel of the Sikh and a few thousand of his companions have been starved into surrender.'

CHAPTER XIX

Massacre of the Sikhs and Banda Singh at Delhi

From Gurdaś Nangal Banda Singh and the other Sikh prisoners were taken to Lahore. Although he had been captured and imprisoned, yet the dread of his supernatural powers was so indelibly impressed upon the minds of his enemies that every moment they were afraid of 'his escape on the road.' A Mughal officer, therefore, offered to be tied together on the same elephant saying: 'if he attempt to escape, I will plunge this dagger into his body.' With fetters on his feet, a ring round his neck, and a chain round his back, all connected by hammer-like pieces of wood, he was thrown into an iron cage, chained to it in four places. Two Mughal officers were tied to him on each side on the same elephant to guard against his escape. His officers and principal men were put in irons and marched in a body, mounted upon lame, worn down, mangy asses and camels, and with paper caps upon their heads. They were

preceded by drummers and bandsmen, and by Mughals carrying the heads of Sikhs on spears. Behind the prisoners were the royal Amirs, Faujdars and Hindu Rajas at the head of their respective troops. For miles the *Shahi Sarak*, or the Royal Road, was lined with eager spectators on both sides, and the bazaars, the streets and the roofs of the adjoining houses presented the spectacle of a surging sea of human heads. With such a cortege of half-dead prisoners and bleeding heads Abd-us-Samad Khan entered the city of Lahore.[1]

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[1] Rattan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 185; M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, i. 109-110; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, Raymond, 89; Briggs, 79; *Miftah-ul-Tawarikh*, 398; Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 279.

Here, at Lahore, Sayyed Ghulam Hussain Khan, has introduced an interesting imaginary story. 'It happened that Bayzid Khan's mother lived in the city,' says he, 'and hearing that had happened, and that her son's murderer was amongst the prisoners, she requested her attendants to point him to her. For, the man having acquired a character amongst his brethren by such a daring action, had been nick-named Baz-sing by them, and had been promoted to a considerable office. The old woman having got upon a terrace that overlooked the street, lifted up a large stone which she had provided, and being directed by the sound (for she was blind), she let it fall so luckily, that she killed him outright; and the old lady, after this action, said that she would now die satisfied and revenged. But this action having, as a signal, roused the people of the city, and the General conceiving that he might lose all the prisoners through the fury of the mob, ordered them to be conveyed to a place of safety amongst the baggage, where they were covered with trappings of

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Abd-us-Samad Khan asked for permission to come to Delhi in person with his great prisoner, but he was ordered to remain and attend to the government of his province, sending Banda Singh and the other Sikh prisoners in the charge of his son Zakriya Khan, and of Qamr-ud-Din Khan, the

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elephants and everything that could conceal them from the people's eyes.' (*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 403; Raymond, 89-90; Briggs, 78-9.)

The above story, which does not stand the test of historical evidence, is purely an invention of the Sayyed who is not incapable of such a thing. He has likewise given an 'apocryphal story in the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* as to the mode of Farrukh Siyar's death, by which the direct blame for it is removed from the shoulders of the Sayyids. The author's animus, as Sayyid and Shia defending other Sayyids and Shias,' says Irvine, 'is sufficiently obvious here as elsewhere.' (*Later Mughals*, i. 392-3.) In this case too he has done it to defend his co-religionist Bayzid Khan being killed by an infidel, as he calls a Sikh, in the field of battle. In the first instance he has confounded Wazir Khan Faujdar of Sirhind with Bayzid Khan Faujdar of Jammu, but even then his story falls down of itself as Wazir Khan and Bayzid Khan had both been killed fighting against the Sikhs in the field of battle at Chappar-Chiri [Sirhind], and Bahrampur, and none of them was stabbed at prayer by a Sikh as alleged by him. [See pages 65 and 163.] Secondly, the mother of none of them could have been at Lahore as Wazir belonged to Kunjpura, a place near Karnal, and Bayzid to Qasur. The most conclusive evidence against the stroy is that Baj Singh, the target of the old lady's stone, was not 'killed outright' at Lahore, as mentioned therein, but that he received martyrdom at Delhi on the 19th June, 1716, along with Banda Singh. [Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 197a ; Irvine, i. 317; *Mahma Prakash*, 615 a-b.] Nor can it be easily believed that an old, infirm and blind lady could have thrown, so heavy a stone as could kill so strong a man as Baj Singh, at such a distance in the middle of the bazaar.

son of Muhammad Amin Khan.[2]

At the time of his departure from Lahore, Zakriya Khan considered the number of two hundred prisoners to be too small to be presented to the Emperor. He, therefore, ordered a general hunt of the Sikhs throughout the country. The Faujdars and the Chaudhris scoured the land in search of them. Numbers of innocent people were arrested from villages and sent over to Zakriya Khan to make up the desired number of prisoners. Thus in a few days thousands of Sikhs, for no fault but that they professed the Sikh faith and belonged to a non-Islamic creed, fell under the executioner's sword to fill seven hundred carts of heads to be despatched to Delhi.[3]

'Banda [Singh] and others,' says Cunnigham, 'were marched to Delhi with all the signs of ignominy usual with bigots, and common among barbarous or half-civilized conquerors.' Like their Chief, they were put in irons, and chained in feet, waiste and neck, and were loaded in twos or threes on bullock carts. At Sirhind they were paraded through the streets and exposed to the ridicule of the people who are said to have poured the filthiest language on them. The Sikhs bore

[2] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, Irvine, i. 315.

[3] *Pothi*, 294a; Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, 180-1.

these indignities with the greatest patience, singing the sacred hymns of their Gurus.[4]

On the 15th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1128 (25th February, 1716, O. S.), the arrival of the prisoners at Agharabad was reported to the Emperor at Delhi. Itmad-ud-Daula Muhammad Amin Khan was at once sent out by him to make necessary arrangements for bringing the Sikh Chief and his followers in procession from Agharahad to the Imperial palace.[5]

On Thursday, the 17th Rabi-ul-awwal, 1128 (27th February, 1716, O. S.), Banda Singh and the other Sikh prisoners were conducted, in a procession, to the city of Delhi. The ceremonial on this occasion was copied from that observed after the capture of the Mahratta Chief Sambhaji, son of Shivaji. First of all came the heads of two thousand executed Sikhs, stuffed with straw and mounted on bamboos, their long-hair streaming in the wind like a veil. Along with them was carried, at the end of a pole, the dead body of a cat to show that every living creature in the enclosure of Gurdas Nangal down to the quadrupeds like cats and dogs had been destroyed. Banda Singh himself came next, seated in an iron cage, placed upon an elephant,

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[4] *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 186.

[5] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 179 a.

and dressed, out of mockery, in a gold embroidered red turban and a heavy robe of scarlet brocade emroidered with pomegranate flowers in gold. Behind him stood, with a drawn sword in his hand, a mail-clad officer from amongst the Turani Mughals of Muhammad Amin Khan. After his elephant came the other Sikh prisoners, seven hundred and forty in number, tied two and two upon saddleless camels. Upon their heads were placed high fantastic fool's caps of ridiculous shape, made of sheep-skin and adorned with glass beads. One of their hands was pinned to the neck between two pieces of wood which were held together by iron pins. Some of the principal men, who rode nearest to their Chief's elephant, were dressed in sheep-skins, with the wooly side turned outward, so that the spectators might compare them to bears. At the end of the procession rode the three nobles, Nawab Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur deputed by Emperor Farrukh Siyar to bring in the prisoners, his son Qumr-ud-din Khan Bahadur and his son-in-law Zakriya Khan Bahadur, son of Abd-us-Samad Khan. The road from Agharabad to the Lahori gate of the city, a distance of several miles, was lined on both sides with troops, and filled with exultant crowds, who mocked at Banda Singh and laughed at the grotesque appearance of his

followers.[6]

Mirza Muhammad Harisi, who was then present at Delhi and had gone to see the *tamasha*, as he calls the procession of the Sikh prisoners, as far as the Salt Market (*Mandavi-i-Namak*) and had thence accompanied the procession as far as the *Qilah-i-Mubarik* or the Imperial Fort, has recorded the above as an eye-witness, and continues thus in his *Swaneh* or the *Ibrat Namah*: "On this day I had gone to see the *tamasha* as far as the *Mandavi-i-Namak* and had thence accompanied the procession to the *Qilah-i-Mubarik*. There was hardly any one in the city who had not come out to see the *tamasha* or to enjoy the show of the extirpation of the accursed ones [Sikhs]. Such a crowd in the bazaars and lanes had been rarely seen. And the Musalmans could not contain themselves for joy. But those unfortunate Sikhs, who had been reduced to this last extremity, were quite happy and contented with their fate; not the slightest sign of dejection or humility was to be seen on their faces. It fact, most of them, as they passed along on their camels, seemed happy and cheerful, joyfully singing the

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6 Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 52 a-b. According to the *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab* and the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* their faces were blackened and wooden caps were put on their heads. The size of a cap, according to the *Tabsirat-un-Nazerin*, was such as to contain five seers of earth.

sacred hymns of their Scripture. And, if any one from amongst those in the lanes and bazaars called out to them that their own excesses had reduced them to that condition, they quickly retorted saying that it had been so willed by the Almighty and that their capture and misfortune was in accordance with His Will. And, if any one said: 'Now you will be killed,' they shouted: 'Kill us. When were we afraid of death? Had we been afraid of it, how could we have fought so many battles with you? It was merely through starvation and for want of food that we fell into your hands, otherwise you know already what deeds we are capable of.'[7] Sayyed Muhammad, the

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[7] Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 52b-53a:—

درین روز بنده تا منڈوي نمک براے تماشا رفته بود و از آنجا تا قلعه مبارک همراهي نمود و از اهل شهر کم کسي بود که براے تماشا استیصال آن ملا عین نکرده و طرفه هجومي در کوچه و بازار ها بهم رسیده بود که مثل آن کمتر اتفاق مي افتد و مسلمانان را سرور و طربے تمام دست داده–اما آن بد بختان که باین حال گرفتار آمده بودند بسیاري از آنها بر شقاوت خود اصرار داشتند و هیچ فضوح و خشوع از چهره آنها معلوم نشد–بلکه اکثري بر شتران به سرود مشغول بودند و اگر کسي از اهل کوچه و بازار به آنها مي گفت حالا شما را خواهند کشت–میگفتند بکشید ما از کشتن کے مي ترسیم و اگر مي ترسیدیم چرا با شما این قدر جنگها مي کردیم و ما محض

[*Continued on page 222.*

author of the *Tabsirat-un-Nazirin*, was also present there on that occasion. 'At that time I addressed one of them by signs,' says he, 'that that was the result of their arrogance and insolence. He put his hand on his forehead to express that it was predestined. The expression of his meaning at that time pleased me very much.'[3] Not all the insults that their

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به سبب گر سنگي و فقدان اَذوقه بدست شما اُفتاديم وإلا حقيقت بهادري ما زياده از اَنچه ديد اَيد معلوم شما ميشد۔

[مرزا محمد حارثي—عبرت نامه—۵۳]

[3] Sayyed Muhammad, *Tabsirat-un-Nazerin*, 187a.

اَن روز که اورا بمقاهير ديگر تخته کلاه کرده در نظر انور حضرت ظل سبحاني مي گذرانيدند اين ضعيف براے تماشا بيرون اَمده بود چه مي بيند که گروي زرد رو را به فيل سوار کرده اند در پنجره اَهنين و جامه سرخ بر او پوشانيده و قالبي از چوب بطور کلاه که زياده از پنج سير خاک درو گنجد تراشيده بخاکستر انباشته بالاے سرش گذاشته که از بار گران آن گردنش خم گشته و ترش رو و کج نشسته و شخصي در پهلوئے او تيغ اَهيخته و ديگر متابعان و طاغيان او را بهيئتي که پوست بزو غنم در برو تخته کلاه بر سر بر شتران سوار بديوان عام قلعه بادشاهي در اَوردند چندانکه صحن اَن مقام وسيع از مرکوب اَن مخاذيل پر بود در اَن هنگام بنده از اَنان خطاب باشارت کردم که اين گستاخي و شوخي چه بود دست بر پيشاني خود نهاد و ايما بقسمت و نصيب خود کرد—مرا در اَن وقت اداء مدعاء او خوش اَمد—

[سيد محمد—تبصرة الناظرين—۱۸۷]

enemies had inflicted could rob the brave disciples of Guru Govind Singh of their natural dignity. 'Without any sign of dejection or shame, they rode on, calm and cheerful, even anxious to die the death of Martyrs.'[9]

On the arrival of the procession at the fort, Banda Singh, Baj Singh, Bhai Fateh Singh and a few other leaders were, by Farrukh Siyar's orders, made over to Ibrahim-ud-Din Khan Mir Atish to be imprisoned at the Tripolia. Banda Singh's wife, his four years old son, Ajai Singh, and the nurse of the child were taken away by Darbar Khan Nazir of the harem, and the remaining 694 Sikhs were handed over to Sarbrah Khan Kotwal for execution.[10]

Itmad-ud-Daula Muhammad Amin Khan was honoured with six *Khillats* or dresses of honour, a jewelled diadem and an Arab horse with golden harness, and Qamr-ud-Din Khan and Zakriya Khan each with a special dress of honour, a jewelled diadem, a horse and an elephant. Zakriya Khan then went to the fort and delivered to the *Tahwildar*, or the officer in charge of the royal treasury, the following Sikh arms and valuables that he had brought with him from Lahore:—

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[9] Wilson, *Early Annals*, xliii.

[10] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 179 a-b.

Swords	...	1,000
Shields	...	278
Bows and Quivers	...	173
Matchlocks	...	180
Daggers (*Jamdhar*)	...	114
Long knives (*Kard*)	...	217
Gold Mohars	...	23
Rupees· a little over	...	600
Gold Ornaments	...	a few.[11]

'The list of arms taken and money seized,' remarks Irvine, 'does not give a very exalted notion of either the military strength or of the wealth of the Sikh leader' in the fortress of Gurdas Nangal, and 'it is really astonishing that with so scanty resources the Sikhs so determinedly resisted the greatest Empire of the day for such a long time,' says Kamwar.

The execution of the Sikhs began on the 22nd Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1128 (5th March, 1716, O. S.), under the supervision of Sarbrah Khan Kotwal, opposite the *Chabutra Kotwali* or police station on the side of the Tripolia. One hundred of the Sikh prisoners were taken out of their prison every day and were seated in lines in the *Qatalgah*, or the place of execution, with blacksmiths kept ready in attendance on the executioners to sharpen their swords.

[11] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 179 b; *Later Mughals*, i. 315.

Life was promised to any one who would renounce his faith, but they would not prove false to their Gurus and 'to the last it has not been found that one apostatised from this new formed religion,' write Surman and Stephenson. The Sikhs welcomed death with undaunted spirit, presented their heads to the executioners with cheerful faces, and, with the words '*Wahiguru! Wahiguru!*' on their lips, they joyfully gave up their lives amidst the wondering praise of the populace. At the time of execution their constancy was wonderful to look at, and 'Me Deliverer! kill me first!!' was the joyful prayer that constantly rang in the ears of the executioner. 'All observers, Indian and European,' says Irvine, 'unite in remarking on the wonderful patience and resolution with which these men met their fate. Their attachment and devotion to their leader were wonderful to behold. They had no fear of death, and they called the executioner *Mukta*, or the Deliverer.' 'But what is singular,' writes Ghulam Hussain Khan, the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 'these people not only behaved firmly during the execution, but they would dispute and wrangle with each other for priority in execution and they made interest with and entreated the executioner for that purpose.' For a whole week the sword of the executioner did its butcher's work

and in this manner all the Sikh prisoners were beheaded. After the heads had been severed from the bodies, the bodies were thrown into a heap, and at night-fall they were loaded in carts, taken out of the city and hung up on the trees.[12]

Mirza Muhammad Harisi, the author of the *Ibrat Namah*, writes that he had been to the scene of execution on the 23rd Rabi-ul-Awwal, the second day, to see the *tamasha-i-qatal* (the slaughter show), but he arrived there at a time when the slaughter for that day was over and bodies were still lying there in blood and dust in the burning heat of the sun.[13]

Many wonderful stories of the unshaken constancy and the whole-hearted devotion of the Sikh prisoners to their faith and their leader were then told. Some of them were so wonderful that those who were not eye-witnesses to them were inclined to dismiss them as incredible, says Khafi Khan. But

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[12] Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 53 a; Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 179 b; Khafi Khan, *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, ii, 765; Khushal Chand, *Tarikh-i-Muhammmad Shahi*, 247 b; Muhammad Saleh Qudrat, *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 26 b; Shiv Das, *Manavvar-ul-Kalam*, quoted by Irvine, i. 317-318; Browne, *India Tract, History of the Rise and Progress of the Sicks*, 12; Malcolm, *Sketch*, 81; Wilson, *Early Annals*, xliii, 97; *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim*, 148; Ganesh Das, *Risala Sahib Numa*, 197.

آن گرفتاران بے غم خود گردن پیش جلادان می نہادند
و واهگورو واهگورو گویان جان میدادند-[رسالہ صاحب نما-۱۹۹]

[13] *Ibrat Namah*, 53 a.

the following is recorded by him in his *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, p. ii. 766, as 'what he saw with his own eyes.'

Among the prisoners sentenced to death was a Sikh youth of tender age. He was the only son of a widowed mother. He had only recently been married and as yet had the *Kangan-i-Arusi*, the marriage thread, on his wrist. Hearing of the impending doom of her son with the other prisoners, the old mother approached Ratan Chand, Diwan of the Wazir, and through his influential support, pleaded the cause of her son with great feeling and earnestness before the Emperor Farrukh Siyar and Sayyed Abdullah Khan. To avail of the Emperor's general offer to spare the lives of those who renounced the Sikh faith, the old woman, probably as tutored by Diwan Ratan Chand, represented that her son was only a prisoner in the hands of the Sikhs and was not a follower of the Gurus. He was brought here, she said, while in their captivity and now stood innocent among those condemned to death. Farrukh Siyar commiserated the old woman and sent an officer with orders to release the youth. The woman arrived with the order of release just as the executioner was standing with the bloody sword over that young man's head. She presented the order for his release

to the Kotwal. He brought out the prisoner and told him he was free. But the boy refused to be released, says Khafi Khan, and loudly cried out:

مادرم دروغ میگوید من بدل جان از معتقدان وفدویان جان نشار مرشد خودم میرا زود به رفیقان من رسانید

'My mother is a liar. I am heart and soul a devoted follower of the *Gurus*. Send me quickly after my companions'. No bewailing cries and tearful entreaties of his old mother and no persuasion of the State officers, writes the author of the *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*, could shake the young Sikh in his devotion to his faith. The spectators were further dumfounded when the heroic boy retraced his steps back to the place of execution and calmly bowed his head before the executioner to meet his death. In an instant the executioner's sword went aloft and descended on the frail neck of the youth, and he 'was enrolled among the truest of the martyrs produced by the Sikh religion'.[14]

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[14] *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, ii. 766; Elliot, vii. 458; *Bahar-ul-Mawwaj*, 228 a; Wilson, *Early Annals*, xliii.; Shiv Das, *Manavvar-ul-Kalam*; Irvine, i. 318; The youth said, writes Shiv Das in the *Manavvar-ul-Kalam*: "I know not this woman, what does she want with me? I am a true and loyal follower of the Guru."

According to the *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*, the old lady is said to have also brought the bride of the young man along, and he is reported to have replied :—

[*Continued on page 229.*

On the 27th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1128 (9th March, 1716, O. S.), Sarbrah Khan Kotwal conveyed, under the Emperor's orders, seventeen of Banda Singh's *Ahalkars*, or principal men, into the fort. For three months after the massacre there was a lull, and Banda Singh and his companions remained confined in the Imperial Fort. The object of this confinement and the three months' delay in the execution of the Sikh Chief and his deputies is explained in a letter, dated Delhi, the 10th March 1716, from Messrs. John Surman and Edward Stephenson, the members of the English Embassy to Emperor Farrukh Siyar, to the Honourable Robert Hedges, President and Governor of Fort William. 'He at present', the ambassadors reported, 'has his life prolonged with most of his Mutsuddys in hope to get an Account of his treasure and of those that assisted him, when afterwards he will be executed.' And, it was not till June 19th, that he was led out

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Continued from page 228.]

من نمیدانم که این مادر کیست و این عروس از کجا آورده است—و این چگونه سخنهاے میگوید—رفیقان من گذشتند و اکنون وقت ما از دست میرود—و این مهلت باعث آزار ماست—

[تاریخ محمد شاهي—۲۴۷—ب]

"I know not whose mother she is, where she has brought this bride from, and what she says? My companions have passed off. Now my time is slipping out of my hands, and this delay is causing me much trouble."

to execution and subjected to a death of torture.[15]

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[15] Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 179 b. As the letter of the English ambassadors, referred to above, is an important document on the subject, bearing on the 'Arrest and Massacre of the Sikhs at Delhi,' we quote here the relevant portion in full:—

LETTER XII

The Honourable Robert Hedges Esq.,
President & Governor of Fort William, & Council in Bengal.
Honourable Sir etc.,

We wrote your Honour on the 7th ultimo since which we have received no letters.

... ...

The great Rebel Gooroo [Guru] who has been for these 20 years so troublesome in the Subaship [Subah] of Lahore is at length taken with all his family and attendance by Abd-us-Samad Cawn the Suba [*Subehdar* i. e. Governor] of that province. Some days ago they entered the city laden with fetters, his whole attendants which were left alive being about seven hundred and eighty all severally mounted on camels which were sent out of the City for that purpose, besides about two thousand heads stuck upon poles, being those who died by the sword in battle. He was carried into the presence of the King, and from thence to a close prison. He at present has his life prolonged with most of his mutsuddys [*mutasaddis*] in hope to get an Account of his treasure in the several parts of his Kingdom and of those that assisted him, when afterwards he will be executed, for the rest there are 100 each day beheaded. It is not a little remarkable with what patience they undergo their fate, and to the last it has not been found that one apostatised from this new formed Religion.

... ...

Dilly,
March the 10th. 1715-16.

We are,
Honourable Sir & Sirs,
Your most obedient Humble Servants,
John Surman,
Edward Stephenson.

[*Continued on page 231.*

The fate reserved for Banda Singh is too excruciating to be described. On Sunday, the 29th Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 1128 (19th June, 1716, N. S.), 'when the sun had risen about three spears on the sky,' Banda Singh, his son Ajai Singh, Sardar Baj Singh, Ram Singh, Bhai Fateh Singh, Ali Singh, Gulab Singh *Bakhshi* and others,[16] who had been confined in the fort of Delhi, were led out of the fort in procession under the escort of Sarbrah Khan Kotwal, Chief of Police, and Ibrahim-ud-Din Khan Mir Atish, General of Artillery. As on the day of his entry, the Sikh Chief, laden with fetters, was dressed in a gold embroidered red turban and a robe of gold brocade. He was placed on an elephant and, with twenty-six other Sikhs in chains marching behind him, was taken through the streets of the old city to the shrine of Khwaja Qutab-ud-Din Bakhtiyar

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Coniinued from page 230.]

This letter was read at a consultation at Fort St. George on Tuesday, 5th June, 1716, and is to be found in the Madras Diary and Consultation Book for 1715 to 1719, No. 87, Range 239, in the India Office; also in J. T. Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*, p. 180, and in C. R. Wilson's *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, p. 96-8.

[16] Some writers have included the name of Kahan Singh also among those executed with Banda Singh, but, according to the author of the *Mahma Parkash*, he was rescued from the massacre by sending in an other man in his place. (614b-616b.)

Kaki, where the red Qutab Minar lifts its proud head of white marble over the crumbling walls of the old Hindu fortress. Here he was paraded round the tomb of the late Emperor Bahadur Shah.[17]

After Banda Singh had been dismounted and seated on the ground, he was offered the usual choice between Islam and death. But the 'chosen disciple of Guru Govind Singh,' as the ***Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*** calls him, chose to lay down his life like a devoted follower than to abjure his faith for the sake of enjoying a few more years of life. His young son, Ajai Singh, about four years, was then placed in his arms and he was told to take the boy's life. But can a father kill his own child ? He refused. The executioner then hacked the child to pieces joint by joint with a long knife, dragged out his quivering heart and thrust it into the mouth of his father, who stood unmoved like a statue, completely resigned to God's Will.[18]

It is reported, writes Ghulam Hussain Khan, the author of the ***Siyar-ul-Mutakherin***, seemingly on the authority of Khafi Khan, that Itmad-ud-

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[17] Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 62 b; Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 180 a; Khafi Khan, ii. 765-6; *Tabsirat-un-Nazirin*, 187 a, Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, 187.

[18] *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, 766-7, Elliot, vii. 459; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, Raymond, i. 91, Briggs, 79-80.

Daula Muhammad Amin Khan, having had the opportunity to come close and to look at Banda Singh, was surprised at the nobleness of his features, and could not help addressing him. 'It is surprising,' said he, 'that one, who shows so much acuteness in his features and so much of nobility in his conduct, should have been guilty of such horrors.' With the greatest composure, he replied: 'I will tell you. Whenever men become so corrupt and wicked as to relinquish the path of equity and to abandon themselves to all kinds of excesses, then the Providence never fails to raise up a scourge like me to chastise a race so depraved; but when the measure of punishment is full then he raises up men like you to bring him to punishment.'[19] And according to the *Mahma Prakash*, he is reported to have said: 'What power had any one to kill me? The order of the Sat-Guru [Govind Singh] was contravened by me, and this is the punishment for it.'[20]

His own turn came next. First of all his right eye was removed by the point of a butcher's knife and then his left. His left foot was cut off next, and

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[19] *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 403; Raymond, i. 91, Briggs, 79-80.

[20] ਬੰਦੇ ਨੇ ਕਿਹਾ ਜੋ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਾ ਕਿਆ ਮਕਦੂਰ ਥਾ ਜੋ ਮੁਝ ਕੋ ਮਾਰਤਾ, ਪਰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਮੇਰੇ ਸੇ ਭੰਗ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਸਜਾਇ ਏਹ ਮੁਝ ਪਰ ਹੈ ।

then his two hands were severed from his body. His flesh was then torn with red-hot pincers, and finally he was decapitated and hacked to pieces limb by limb. Banda Singh remained calm and serene amidst these tortures, completely resigned to the Will of God and the Guru, and died with unshaken constancy, 'glorying,' says Elphinstone, 'in having been raised up by God to be a scourge to the iniquities and oppressions of the age.'[21]

The other Sikh prisoners shared the same fate

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[21] Harisi, *Ibrat Namah*, 62 b; Kamwar, *Tazkirah*, 180 a; Khafi Khan, ii. 765-6; *Tabsirat-un-Nazerin*, 187 a; *Farrukh Siyar Namah*, and Shiv Das, *Mannavar-ul-Kalam*, quoted by Irvine, i. 318-9; Thornton, *History of the Punjab*, 180-1; Elphinstone, *History of India*, 670; Danishwar, *Miftah-ul-Tawarikh*, 398; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, 403, Raymond, 91, Briggs, 79-80.

From amongst the Sikh writers, Sarup Dass, the author of the *Mahma Prakash*, and the author of the *Pothi*, written in 1833-1836 Bikrami (1776-1779), also acknowledge that Banda Singh was executed at Delhi. Bhai Santokh Singh the author of the *Suraj Prakash* also supports the *Mahma Prakash* in clear words 'ਵਹਿਰ ਨਿਕਾਸਯੋ ਬੰਦਾ ਮਾਰਯੋ'......'ਮਾਰ ਦਯੋ ਬੰਦਾ ਪਲ ਮਾਹੂੰ' 'Banda was taken out and executed,' 'Banda was executed in a moment' [p. 6333-6336].

Bhangu Rattan Singh for the first time gives a different version that Banda Singh was dragged behind a horse and was then thrown away in an unconcious state from which he recovered and disappeared. [*Prachin Panth Prakash*, 188-9.] But the imagination of Bhai Gian Singh has converted the 'hearsay' of Rattan Singh into an established historical fact. According to him, Banda Singh was dragged behind an elephant and re-appeared at Jammu, having at first been removed to Bhucho ke Thakkar in the Sharaqpur Tehsil of

[*Continued on page 235.*

and were put to the sword.[22]

An interesting incident, at this stage, is mentioned in the *Mahma Prakash.* Emperor Farrukh Siyar is said to have summoned the Sikhs to his presence and said: 'I had heard that a Sikh, Baj Singh by name, is a very brave man and that he was blessed by the Guru.' Baj Singh, thereupon, volunteered and said: 'I am Baj Singh, the humblest servant of Guru.' The Emperor said: 'Oh, You were a brave man. But now you are incapable of doing anything.' Baj Singh retorted, 'If you remove my fetters, I will even now show you some *tamasha.*' The Emperor then ordered that his fetters should be removed, and no sooner was Baj Singh free to move than, true to his name, he pounced like a *Baz*, or a hawk, upon the Emperor's

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Continued from page 234.]

the Lahore district. From Jammu he is said to have moved to the village of Bhabbar in the parganah of Riasi, where he died in 1741.

[*Panth Prakash* 2nd edition, 352; 5th edition, 455-6, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*; Karam Singh, *Banda Bahadur*, 191-3.]

The imaginary stories of Banda Singh having been dragged behind a horse or an elephant,his resuscitation and re-appearance may be dismissed as incredible in the face of the clear accounts of eye-witnesses and contemporaries, who all unanimously declare that he was executed at Delhi, having been subjected to untold tortures and hacked to pieces limb by limb.

[22] According to the *Mahma Prakash*, 614 b, the companions of Banda Singh Bahadur were executed on the following day.

men and killed two or three of them with the hand-cuffs on his wrists. He then turned towards an Amir, when he was apprehended by the Emperor's attendants and executed.[23]

[23] *Mahma Prakash*, 615 a-b.

CHAPTER XX

The Man and his Achievements

The character of Banda Singh, as exhibited in the preceding chapters of his life, full of ever-readiness for the emancipation of his oppressed and persecuted countrymen and an unflinching devotion to the Guru and his religion, appears so interesting for the student of history that we cannot conclude this sketch without allowing it a sufficient portion of the canvas available for the picture. Apart from this, so many misunderstandings have gathered round his person as a result of the fruitful imagination of some writers, Giani Gian Singh in particular, that we cannot, in justice to our subject, quietly pass over them leaving our readers to be led astray by prejudiced writers. The accounts given by Muslim historians are mostly influenced by their pro-Islamic prejudice against the non-Muslims, and Banda Singh has been painted by them in the blackest colours. Every act of cruelty, which their fertile imagination could invent, has been ascribed to him. The Sikh writers, on the

other hand, have unreservedly condemned him for his introduction of the *Fateh Darshan*, which he never insisted upon after its rejection by the Khalsa, and other things of which he was never guilty. But he was a far different man from what he has been represented to be.

In personal appearance Banda Singh, according to the *Mirat-i-Waridat* of Muhammad Shafi Warid, resembled Guru Govind Singh. Thin of physique and of medium stature, he was of light brown complexion. The nobleness of his features, with sharp and shining eyes, impressed his greatness even on the minds of his enemies. Men like Itmad-ud-Daula Muhammad Amin found an opportunity to come close to him, at the time of his cruel death, and praise him for 'so much of acuteness in his features and so much of nobility in his conduct.'[1] He may not be said to have been a giant in physique, but he was very active, and would keep at bay far stronger men in the field of battle. He was a good marksman, *banduq* or *Ramjanga*, as they called a matchlock, being a favourite weapon of the Sikhs,[2]

[1] Ghulam Hussain Khan, *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* 403; Raymond, 1. 91, Briggs, 79-80.

[2] بندوق شان بر نهصد قدم خبر أمدم میکرد
[سید غلام علي-عمادالسعادت]

[*Continued on p. 239.*

but he was excessively fond of his sword and bow. He was a good horseman and would ride on for days without being fatigued. The scanty records of the contemporary Muslim histories—there being literally no contemporary Sikh records available on the subject—give little information as to many qualities that he possessed, 'but he is allowed, on all hands, to have been a man of undoubted valour and bravery, and the coolness, with which he met his death,'[3] has elicited praise even from men like Khafi Khan.

It would seem how sagacious Guru Govind Singh was in selecting such a man for carrying on his struggle for the independence of his people. Indeed Banda Singh's conversion from an inert ascetic into

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[*Continued from p. 238.*

گذشتہ ازین اساحه گر تفنگ بگیرند در دست هنگام جنگ
بمیدان در آئند جولان کنان چو شیر ا ن غر ه نعر ه ز نان
بسے سینه ها را نمائند چاک بسا خون بریزند در خون خاک
توگوئي که هست این تفنگ از قدیم ز حکمت سگان في زلقمان حکیم
ازیشان زیاده درین فن کسے ندارند تفنگے ست گرچه بسے
یمین و یسار و پس و پیش هم بدو مي‌زند صد تفنگ آن دژم
اگر باورت نیست بر گفت من به پرس از دلیران شمشیر زن
که خواهند گفتن زیاده ازین نمائند بر جنگ شان آفرین

[قاضي نور محمد—جنگ نامه—۱۷۳]

[3] M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, i. 111.

'a Commander of the forces of the Khalsa' was nothing short of the Guru's miracle. Nor did Banda Singh betray the trust reposed in him by his Holy Master. Drinking the baptismal Nectar of the Khalsa, putting on the consecrated steel and adopting the dress and manners of the Sikhs, he had become a full-fledged *Singh*, and to the last, even under the severest pain of a terrible death, he stuck on to his dedication to the mission of Guru Govind Singh. 'Bunda was a fanatic and so resolved was he to fulfil the orders of Govind Singh' for the chastisement of persecutors, writes M'Gregor in his *History of the Sikhs*, 'that he became the terror of the whole Punjab as well as the districts on this side of the Punjab.' He was not exclusively devoted to the military command of the Khalsa. His zeal for the propagation of Sikhism was second to none's. He offered *Ardasa* or prayer for all who appealed to him for assistance or joined his forces, and inculcated the *Simran* or *Jap* of *Wahiguru* or the repetition of the Sacred Name.[4] In spite of all the power that he commanded, he is not recorded to have used force in his missionary work. 'He *captivated the hearts of all* towards his incli-

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[4] *Prachin Panth Prakash*, p. 94, and Banda Singh's *Hukamnamah* to the Khalsa of Jaunpur quoted on p. 153.

nations,' writes Amin-ud-Daula in his third Ruqqa,[5] of June, 1710, 'and whether a Hindu or a Muhammadan, whosoever came in contact with him, he addressed him by the title of *Singh* [baptized him into the Sikh faith].' Accordingly Dindar Khan, a ruler of the neighbourhood of Sirhind, Mir Nasir-ud-Din, a news-writer of that place, and Chhajju, a Jat of Panjwar near Amritsar, were converted into Dindar Slngh, Mir Nasir Singh and Chhajja Singh,[6] and a large number of Muhammadans and Hindus adopted the faith and manners of the Sikhs, 'and took solemn oaths and firm pledges to stand by him.' He even offered to forget and forgive and to spare the lives and territories of the worst of his enemies of Sirhind and the Shivaliks, if they conformed to his behests.[7]

In his zeal for the emancipation of the persecuted and down-trodden, he earned the blessings of the poor and the destitute whose cries had not been heard by any one for centuries past. He raised the lowest of the low to the highest positions under his government. The untouchables and the un-

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[5] *Dastur-ul-Insha*, *Ruqqat-i-Amin-ud-Daula*, 6 a. For orginal Persian, see p. 73-4.

[6] *Dastur-ul-Insha*, 6 a; Latif, *History of the Punjab*, 296; Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, 161. Chhajja Singh afterwards became the head of the Bhangi *Misal*.

[7] *Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Hind*, 35a; *Prachin Panth Prakash*, 121-2.

approachables, the so-called sweepers and pariahs, were raised to the position of rulers. 'A low scavenger or leather-dresser, the lowest of the low in Indian estimation,' says Irvine, 'had only to leave home and join the Guru [referring to Banda Singh], when in a short time he would return to his birth-place as its ruler with his order of appointment in his hand. The well-born and wealthy went out to greet him and escort him. Arrived there, they stood before him with joined hands, awaiting his orders. Not a soul dared to disobey an order, and men, who had often risked themselves in battle-fields, became so cowed down that they were afraid even to remonstrate.'[8]

In matters of Government, he introduced one of the greatest fiscal reforms in the country by abolishing the Zamindari System of the Mughals which had reduced the cultivators to the position of slaves. With the establishment of Banda Singh's *Raj*, the actual cultivators of the soil became the proprietors of their holdings, and the oppression resulting from the old system was for ever eradicated from the Punjab.

In his personal conduct as a Sikh, he was, throughout, a devoted follower of Sikhism, and his faith in the Gurus remained unshaken. At the

[8] *Later Mughals*, i. 98-99.

zenith of his power, the inscription on his seal and his coins is an everlasting monument of his overflowing devotion to Gurus Nanak-Govind Singh whom he proclaimed to be the fountains of his *Deg* and *Tegh*, or Plenty and Power. At the last and the most trying moments of his life, under the pain of death, when life was promised to him if he would renounce his faith, 'his constancy was wonderful to look at,' writes a contemporary. With the exception of his innovation of '*Fateh Darshan*' and the celebration of his marriage, there is nothing in the whole history of his life to warrant the allegations levelled against him by some of the recent writers, Sikhs and others, who have prejudiced the people against him. He had a spotless morality and led a very pure life, and, true to the *Rahit* of the Khalsa which he himself inculcated in his *hukamnamahs*, he enjoined upon his men never to attack 'the honour of women' of the conquered enemy. He had no doubt married, wherein he is said to have transgressed the parting injunction[9] of the Guru, but in this he

[9] The only parting injunction of Guru Govind Singh which can be traced from the earliest available records is '*Langot-band rahiyo*,' i. e., 'Lead the life of chastity' [*Mahma Prakash*, p. 608 a; *Suraj Prakash*, 6225, 11-12], to which Rattan Singh has added 'Live at peace with the Khalsa' [*Prachin Panth Prakash*]. It is Giani Gian Singh

[*Continued on p. 244.*

committed no moral or social sin even according to Sikhism. In issuing this injunction the Guru, probably, meant that he should devote himself exclusively to his new mission of life. He remained pacca in his *Rahit* throughout. Banda Singh committed none of the four cardinal sins, called the Four *Kurahits* in the *Rahit Namas* or the Books of Conduct. He had his *Keshas* or hair intact, to which the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* bears witness in the words: 'He was a Syc by profession,that is one of those attatched to the tenets of Guru Govind [Singh] and who from their birth, or from the moment of their admission, never cut or shave either their beard or whiskers, or any hair whatever of their body.'[10] He never used tobacco or the *Halal* meat, nor was he guilty of immoral intercourse with a woman, not formally and legally married to him. As such, there was nothing in his life which could be taken as his dissidence from the tenets of Sikhism.

It is not intended to claim that he was always beyond criticism. He was not a 'Guru' to be infallible, and to err is the ordinary lot of mortal

Continued from page 243.]
who has, in the nineties of the nineteenth century and later, multiplied these injunctions by his own additions to suit the statements of the *Prachin Panth Prakash* regarding the Farrukh Siyar—Mata Sundri negotiations and the desertion of the Khalsa, which cannot stand the test of historical scrutiny.

[10]Raymond, i. 82, Briggs 92-93.

men. But it is unfair to exaggerate his minor shortcomings and multiply them to such an extent as to overshadow all his virtues. It is true that he introduced a new war-cry, called *Fateh Darshan*; but it was not intended to replace the ordinnry salutation, which was *Wahiguru ji ka Khalsa, Wahiguru ji ki Fateh.* But in practice, slowly and gradually, it came to be used for and replace it. This was condemned by the Khalsa. There is no truth, however, in the other allegations against him. There is nothing in the contemporary or the earliest available records to show that he ever proclaimed himself to be a Guru in succession to Guru Govind Singh or that he ever used a cushion, like the Gurus, in the sacred precincts of the Darbar Sahib at Amritsar. The most conclusive evidence on this point may be found in his own letter dated the 12th Poh Sammat I, about the 26th December, 1710, wherein the personality of the Guru is mentioned quite distinct from his own. He issues the order in the name of the Guru and not in the capacity of a Guru. He clearly enjoins that the *Guru*, and *not himself*, is the Saviour of the Khalsa. '*The Guru shall save* the entire Khalsa of Jaunpur. *Repeat Guru, Guru*.........I enjoin that he who lives according to the *Rahit* of the Khalsa, shall be saved *by the Guru.*'

No regular schism appears to have come into existence during the life-time of Banda Singh, nor was there any active cleavage caused between those who were inclined to believe in everything he said as all-truth (and who were later on, after his death, called the Bandeis), and the other Khalsas. A sort of a party-feeling based on honest differences of opinion is not improbable in such cases, but in this case the magnetic personality of the leader kept them all together upto the last moment of their annihilation at Delhi. Only one solitary exception to this was in the case of Baba Binod Singh who left the *ihata* of Gurdas Nangal, as mentioned before, on account of a difference of opinion in a council of war. The difference of opinion about *Fateh Darshan* does not appear to have taken any critical turn. It was soon forgiven and forgotten by the Khalsa after its rejection. Had it not been so, or had there been any insistence on the part of Banda Singh in respect of his innovation, there would certainly have been some feud on this account between the unbending Khalsa and the innovators. But we do not find the slightest cleavage on this account, and, to the last, it has not been found that even one man deserted his standard. Not only this. There was none even from amongst those who were captured

on the way from Lahore to Delhi to desert him. They could say that they were only the followers of Guru Govind Singh and not the adherents and accomplices of Banda Singh, the innovater, who had carried on the struggle against the Mughals in contravention of Mata Sundri's instructions. But no such thing happened. On the other hand, we find the Khalsa cheerfully sacrificing themselves, along with him, to the last man at Delhi. The so-called feud that is alleged, by Bhangu Rattan Singh in the *Prachin Panth Prakash*, to have taken place between the Bandei and the other Khalsas is said to have occurred at the instigation of Mata Sundri as the result of Emperor Farrukh Siyar's negotiations with her, the genuineness of which we will presently look into.

We have thoroughly searched all available records for Emperor Farrukh Siyar's so-called negotiations with Mata Sundri, but we have not been able to find anything, not even the slightest hint or a cursory allusion, to support the account of the *Prachin Panth Prakash*. The official *Roznamchas*, the *Tazkirat-us-Salatin* of Kamwar Khan, the *Farrukh Siyar Namah* of Muhammed Ahsan Ijad, the *Farrukh Siyar Namah* and the *Manavvar-ul-Kalam* of Siva Das, the *Chahar Gulshan* of Rai Chatarman, the *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab* of Khafi Khan, the *Ibrat Namah* and the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* of Mirza

Muhammad Harisi, the *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* of Yahiya Khan, and the other works of the contemporary writers, the biographies of the contemporary Amirs and private persons, the later works like the *Siyar-ut-Mutakherin* of Ghulam Hussain Khan, the *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh* of Sohan Lal, the *Tarikh-i-Punjab* of Bute Shah, the *Tarikh-i-Sikhan* of Khushwaqt Rai, the histories of the Punjab and the Sikhs by M'Gregor, Thornton, Kanhiyalal, Muhammad Latif and others and the works of the Sikh writers like the *Mahma Prakash* of Sarup Das, and the *Suraj Prakash* of Santokh Singh are all silent on this point. It is impossible to believe that so important a subject as the Emperor's negotiations with the wife of Guru Govind Siugh, for the subjugation of so formidable a foe as 'Banda' was then considered to be, could have escaped the notice of one and all writers on the subject, from official diarists and chroniclers down to the writers of private histories, personal Tazkirahs and biographical sketches of Amirs and other notable persons. The *Tazkirat-us-Salatin* gives almost the daily details of news received from the front against Banda Singh and the orders issued and the reinforcements despatched, but there is no mention therein of these negotiations. On the other hand in those very days when the so-called negotiations are said to have been in progress, 'a

sharp reproof was administered to Abd-us-Samad Khan on the 15th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1127 (20th March, 1715), and at the same time Qamr-ud-Din Khan, son of Muhammad Amin Khan, Afrasyab Khan the third Bakhshi, Muzaffar Khan, Raja Udet Singh Bundela, Raja Gopal Singh Bhadauryia and some other nobles were sent to reinforce him.'[11] The *Mahma Prakash*, the *Suraj Prakash*, the *Chahar Gulshan*, the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* of Harisi and some other works contain the details of Mata Sundri's life at Delhi, of the activities of her adopted son Ajit Singh, the Mata's disclaimer in respect of him, the murder of a *benawa darvesh* or a religious mendicant, the arrest and murder of Ajit Singh, the removal of his son Hatthi Singh to Mathura, etc., but there is no trace in them of any negotiations with Farrukh Siyar. In the absence of any historical evidence, therefore, these negotiations cannot but be dismissed as incredible. The same thing may be said of Muhammad Aslam Khan's negotiations with the Khalsa and Banda Singh, Aslam Khan having died during the reign of Bahadur Shah. The accounts of these negotiations in the *Prachin Panth Prakash* of Ratan Singh are apparently based on wrong information.

Similarly the claim of some of the Bandeis that

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[11] Kamwar Khan, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin*, 176 b; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i. 312.

Banda Singh had been nominated by Guru Govind Singh as his successor to Guruship does not stand the test of historical scrutiny. No schism, as we know, came into existence during the life-time of Banda Singh and if at all there was anything hidden in the inmost recesses of his heart, of which history has no knowledge, it perished with him on the 19th of June, 1716. According to all accounts, Guru Govind Singh was the tenth and the last Guru of the Sikhs, and the vast volume of historical evidence denies the authority of any one who came after him.[12] On his death, the Guru entrusted the Khalsa to the care of God the never-dying, and 'He who wishes to behold the Guru,' let him search the Granth;' 'there is no difference whatever between the Granth and Guru,' said he.

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[12]*Pothi* (An unpublished Gurmukhi Ms. completed in November, 1779, Assuj Sudi 11th, 1836, Bikrami); Sarup Das, *Mahma Prakash*, p. 611 b-612 a; Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, i. 236; Ahmad, *Mirat-i-Ahwal-i-Jahan Numa*, p. 215 a; Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari, *Tarikh Bahar-ul-Mawwaj*, 208 a; Khushwaqt Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, p. 45; Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol I. p. 64-5; Malcolm, J., *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 76; *Thornton*, *History of the Punjab*, p. i. 110; M'Gregor, W. L., *History of the Sikhs*, i. 104; Cunningham, J. D. C., *Histary of the Sikhs*, p. 88; Butterworth, Alan, *Substance of Indian Faith*, p. 136; Bowering, Lewin B., *Eastern Experiences* p. 320; Trump, E., *The Adi Granth*, p. xcv.

For other authorities in respect of Banda Singh having been only a disciple of Guru Gobind Singh, and not his successor as Guru, see footnot No. 11, pages 15-19.

There can be no successor to Guru Govind Singh, as Guru, in the face of his clear commands and historical evidence; so the claim of any one, in this respect, be he Banda Singh or any of his descendants or a descendant of the adopted Ajit Singh, or any one from amongst the Sodhis or Bedis, or from amongst the founders of the more recently sprung up schismatic Sikh sects must be dismissed as opposed to the Sikh tenets and traditions.

Banda Singh was impelled by the purest of motives in consecrating himself for the liberation and independence of his people and was an embodiment of selflessness. He always lived up to the principles: 'Wishing the advancement of the Panth, walking in the path of *dharma*, fearing sin, living up to truth,' as enjoined by Guru Govind Singh, who never considered lying, intrigue and treachery as part and parcel of politics.[13]

His justice was expeditious and he sometimes went to the extent of relentlessness in his punishment of tyrannical officials. The rank and position of the offender never influenced his spirit of justice and his summary method of dealing with criminal cases made him a terror to the tribe of petty functionaries. He used to tell his men, says the author of the *Pothi*:

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[13]*Pothi*, p. 290 a.

"'The best worship for a king is to be just,' is written in the Holy Granth. Those who do not administer justice are cast into hell. A king should practise justice. Thus spoke to me the Great Man [Guru Govind Singh]. If you call yourselves the Sikhs of the Great Man, do not practise sin, *adharma* and injustice. Raise up true Sikhs and smite those who do un-Sikh-like acts. Bear the sayings of the Great Man in your hearts."[14]

In the field of battle, he was one of the bravest and the most daring, sometimes to the extent of recklessness. And although he was waging his wars under the gravest of provocations, he never gave himself to any of those excesses which characterised his enemies. He has been painted by Muslim historians as perhaps the cruelest of men, 'but a Muhammadan writer,' says Thornton, 'is not to be implicitly trusted upon such a point.'[15]

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[14] P. 292 a.

[15] *History of the Punjab*. i. 176. Also consult Mills who says: 'The Muslim historians of these events are filled with horror as well as indignation at the cruelties which he exercised upon the faithful (to them alone, it seems, did they extend) and describe him as one of the most sanguinary of monsters, the man whose actions, had infidels been the sufferers and a Mussalman the actor, they might not, perhaps, have thought unworthy of applause.'

[*History of India*, vol. II. p. 303.]

He was not an aggressor at all. Rather when we consider the circumstances under which he had taken up the sword, we find him not wantonly cruel but an enemy of the cruel, sent out for the punishment of crimes over which the justice of heaven had seemed to slumber. He had taken to war purely from patriotic motives, springing from a disinterested love of country which was instilled in his mind by Guru Govind Singh. And 'to take up the sword when all other means have failed is lawful,' writes the Guru. When war was once declared, he was, of course, not to be left behind but was ever ready to take the offensive when opportunity offered or required—always considering the All-Steel as his last resource. But he never shed human blood unnecessarily or committed himself irrevocably without making sure of his ground. Like a sagacious statesman he would stand out boldly or withdraw as the occasion demanded. The secret of his success lay in his indomitable courage and unsurpassable activity, coupled with the invincible spirit and dogged tenacity of the Sikhs, which made up for the scantiness of his resources. These were, of course, backed by that strength and consistency which religious zeal alone can supply and which purity of motives and disinterested patriotism only can nourish. Even when reduced to greatest

extremities, no sorrow and no disappointment could weigh him down, and he was always in *Charhdian Kalan* (or an exalted spirit) as a Sikh would put it.

If he failed in his temporal achievement of maintaining the principality that he had carved out at the commencement of his warlike career, it is because the Great Mughal was yet too strong for him with the inexhaustible temporal resources of the then greatest Empire of the world at his disposal. Whether at Sadhaura, or at Gurdas Nangal, it was the overwhelming numbers and the extremes of hunger, want of food and fodder, that reduced him. About the implements and ammunition of war, the less said the better. Not only this. The Khalsa had to stand the brunt of the struggle single-handed. Not one prominent man from amongst the Hindus, whose cause the Khalsa had championed, came out to render them any help whatever. On the other hand, their leading chiefs like Raja Chatarsal Bundela, Chauraman Jat, Gopal Singh Bhadauriya, Udet Singh Bundela, Badan Singh Bundela, Bachan Singh Kachhwahya and the Rajahs of the Shiwalik Hills and others were all arrayed against them.[16] The career of Banda Singh had greater promise in it than what was effected, but it

[16] See pages 199-200 ; *Tazkirat-us-Salatin*, 176 b.

was soon cut short. Externally he may not appear to have succeeded in the emancipation of his people, but the fire of independence ignited by Guru Govind Singh and fanned by Banda Singh was not to be extinguished.

Although, after the death of Banda Singh, the Sikhs were subjected to the severest persecution, and a 'royal edict was issued, ordering all who professed the religion of Nanac to be taken and put to death wherever found',[17] the mission of Guru Govind Singh, desired to be served through Banda Singh's instrumentality, cannot be said to have failed. 'But the mission of Govind Singh had not failed,' writes Payne. 'Scattered and disorganized though they were, without a leader, without a square yard of land they could call their own, the Sikhs were nearer to nationality at this time than they had ever been. Hardship and persecution had served only to strengthen their attachment to their faith, and to draw them into yet closer unity. They now regarded themselves as a distinct people. They believed in their destiny as foretold by Govind Singh and the one determination from which they never

[17] Danishwar, *Miftah-ul-Tawarikh*, 398; Forster, *Travels*, i. 271; Malcolm *Sketch of the Sikhs*, 85; Thornton, *History of the Punjab*, i. 182-3; M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, 113; Sayyed Muhammad Latif, *History of Lahore*, 73.

swerved was to struggle unceasingly for the triumph of the Khalsa.'[18] Next to the Guru, Banda Singh was the first person to place before the Sikhs practical demonstration of staunch nationalism, and to teach them to sacrifice themselves smilingly at the altar of the Khalsa. The very thought of the noble example of the great martyr and his companions has contributed to elevate the minds of his people, who have, in turn, supplied the pages of history with still nobler examples. It was through him that the path to conquest was discovered by the Khalsa. He was the first man to deal a severe blow to the intolerant rule of the Mughals in the Punjab and to break the first sod in the conquest of that province by the Sikhs. Although it was forty years after his death that the capital of Lahore was occupied by the Khalsa and a regular Sikh *Badshahat* was declared, with Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as *Padshah*,[19] it was Banda Singh Bahadur who laid the foundation of the Sikh Empire in 1710.

It will be seen from what has been said in the foregoing chapters, that, all things considered, Banda Singh was one of the most remarkable men that India has produced in the eighteenth

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[18] *A Short History of Sikhs*, 47.

[19] *Khazanah-i-Amra*, 114.

century. The curtain has long since been rung down and the actor has passed away from the scene of his activities, never to appear again, but his spirit has again and again shone in the brave deeds of his co-religionists in the cause of the poor and the helpless. Although he who at one time was hailed as a defender of the faith, a friend of the oppressed and their never-failing fountain of hope, is no more, his dust has returned to dust and his spirit has blended with the spirit of his Saviour, Guru Govind Singh, his name shall ever remain 'writ large on the roll of immortality' for his selfless sacrifices in the sacred cause of persecuted humanity and for his martyrdom with unflinching devotion to God and the Guru.

APPENDIX I

Conflict between the Bandei and the other Khalsa

After the massacre of Banda Singh and the Sikhs at Delhi, every measure, that an active religious resentment could suggest, was taken by the Mughals, not only to destroy their power, but to extirpate the whole nation of the Sikhs. 'A royal edict,' according to Danishwar, 'was issued, ordering all who belonged to this sect to be indiscriminately put to death wherever found,' and 'to give effect to this mandate, a reward,' says Malcolm, 'was offered for the head of every Sikh.' Dr. M'Gregor tells us that things were then going very hard with them. In order to distinguish the Sikhs from the other inhabitants of the Punjab, all Hindus were strictly enjoined to shave their hair and beards off under pain of death, and any person found wearing them was immediately slain. Movable military columns of Abd-us-Smad Khan, Governor of Lahore, scoured the country in search and pursuit of the Sikhs who were hunted down like wild beasts. The irritated Muhammadans and the emasculated

Hindus gave them no quarter. The number of those who perished must have been surprisingly great. Some of the Sikhs left the country and fled into the Shivalik Hills and the mountains to the north-east of the Punjab, or concealed themselves in remote jungles. These alone escaped the general massacre.

However, when, in the beginning of the fifth year of Farrukh Siyar's reign (1130 A.H., 1718 A.D.), the attention of Abd-us-Samad Khan was drawn towards other affairs of his government and Shahdad Khan Kheshgi was despatched to suppress the rebellious activities of Isa Khan Manj, the Sikhs slowly and gradually crept out of their hiding places and repaired to their original homes. With the lapse of time the wild fury of Abd-us-Samad Khan had also cooled down to some extent, and the enforcement of the royal edict for the wholesale massacre of Sikhs was now generally confined to those who were suspected of having taken active part in the rising of the Sikhs under the leadership of Banda Singh. All others were left alone to return to their villages and follow their ordinary pursuits of life.

With the return of Sikhs to their homes, there was naturally an increase in the income and prestige of the Gurdwaras or temples, particularly

of the Darbar Sahib, now called the Golden Temple, of Amritsar. Since the sack of Anandpur in December, 1704, when Guru Govind Singh vacated it for the last time, it never regained its past glory.[1] Apart from its ruin, it was lying in an out-of-the-way place, far removed from the central districts of the Punjab where the Sikh population was the thickest. The Darbar Sahib at Amritsar, situated at a central place had, on the other hand, acquired much greater sanctity. It was the first Sikh sanctuary founded by the fourth Guru, Ram Das, in 1577 A. D., and consecrated by Guru Arjan by the installation of the Holy Scripture on Bhadon Sudi 1st, 1661 Bikrami, 1604 A. D. It was here that the *Akal Takht*, or the Immortal Throne of Guru Har Govind was situated, from

[1] It will be interesting to know that after its sack in December 1704, the lands of Anandpur were taken possession of by the Kahluria Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur. The Sodhi brothers Shyam Singh and Gulab Rai (grandsons of Baba Suraj Mall), who had left for Nahan, returned to Anandpur after some time. They purchased the old *Theh* from the Raja of Bilaspur for sixty thousand rupees and rebuilt the town destroyed by the enemy. Gulab Rai was a man of some influence, and he largely helped his brother in restoring the social position of the family. It is beyond our scope here to follow the history of the family step by step. Suffice it to say that from Nahar Singh, Udai Singh, Khem Singh and Chaur Singh, the four sons of Baba Shyam Singh, are descended the Anandpur Sodhis in four branches, known as *Bari Sarkar*, *Dusri*, *Tisri* and *Chauthi Sarkars*. [Bhai Santokh Singh, *Suraj Prakash*, xiv. 6365-71; Charles F. Massey, *Chiefs and Families of Note*, 1890, p. 331-36.]

where an appeal to All-Steel had been accorded the spiritual sanction and martial spirit had been infused into the devotional frames of the Sikhs. The ***Bethelhem*** of the Khalsa—Anandpur,—therefore, came to be neglected, and the Darbar Sahib of Amritsar became the central place of Sikh worship.

The increasing offerings at the Temple dazzled the eyes of some greedy exploiters, and a clamour arose for the division of income. The Khalsa would permit no such deviation from the old practice. They would not yield to the demand of those who wished to appropriate the Guru's property for their personal ends. A dissension arose and two parties were formed. The Khalsa identified the demand for division of the offerings with heresy and bracketed it, out of contempt, with the long forgotten innovation of Banda Singh. The opposite party were nick-named the *Bandeis*, or the followers of Banda Singh. In the party of the Bandeis, there appear to have been some sincere people who, in their heart of hearts, believed in Banda Singh as a successor of Guru Govind Singh, and in everything that he did as all-truth, while others were merely adventurers and exploiters, some of whom are said to have gone far ahead of the sincere followers in reviving the ***Fateh Darshan*** and introducing

innovations which Banda Singh never seems to have dreamt of. This created resentment, and day by day, the differences between the two parties increased and no amicable settlement or compromise could be effected. The *Bandeis* are said to have claimed fifty per cent of the income of the Darbar Sahib, while the other Khalsa[2] dismissed their claim as wholly inadmissible. It was constantly feared that the arbitration of the sword might at any time be invoked by the warring factions.

When this state of affairs was brought to the notice of Mata Sundri, the widow of Guru Govind Singh, at Delhi, where she had been residing since the departure of the Guru for the Deccan, she despatched Bhai Mani Singh with six other Sikhs for the management of the Darbar Sahib at Amritsar. During the time of the Gurus, the income from the offerings at the Temple was remitted to them wherever they were, and, after the death of Guru Govind Singh, it was sent to his wife at Delhi. She now enjoined that the whole of this income should, in future, be applied to running the *Guru ka Langar*, or a Free Kitchen for the Sikhs, and that nothing need be sent to her at Delhi.

Bhai Mani Singh and his companions arrived at Amritsar in the beginning of 1778 Bikrami, 1721

[2] The party of the puritans has been named '*Tat Khalsa*' by some writers, but it is not to be traced in the old works. It is mentioned by Gian Singh for the first time.

A. D. The Baisaki Day was fast approaching and elaborate arrangements were made for the grand celebrations. Both the parties mustered strong to demonstrate their power, should an opportunity arise for it. The Khalsa established themselves at the Akal Bunga, and the Bandeis occupied a fenced enclosure near the Darshani Gate of the Darbar Sahib, at the site of the present Jhanda Bunga, where their leader, one Mahant Singh of Khem Karan, was seated on a bullock-cart, reclining on cushions. The fair was attended by a much larger number and the income from the offerings was considerable. Through the efforts and intercessions of Baba Kahan Singh, nothing untoward happened during the festival, but soon afterwards the question of the division of income was again mooted. Bhai Mani Singh feared lest the parties should come to blows and a simple quarrel should end in a bloody feud. He, therefore, suggested that the question of the claims be referred to the decision of God: that two slips of paper, one with '*Wahiguru ji ki Fateh*' written on it, and the other with '*Fateh Darshan*', be entrusted to the water of the sacred tank of the Darbar Sahib at the ***Har ki Pauri***, and whosesoever first rises up to the surface of the water would be deemed to have won. The suggestion was immediately taken up and two slips

with the representative inscriptions—*Wahiguru ji ki Fateh* for the general Khalsa and *Fateh Darshan* for the Bandei Khalsa,—were immersed into the water. It appeared for some time as if both the slips had conspired to remain neutral, and the two parties stood in alarming suspense. But at last, one of the slips rose to the surface. It was eagerly picked up and read. It declared '*Wahiguru ji ki Fateh*'—'Victory to God'—in favour of the general *Khalsa*, whose joyous ejaculations rent the air.

Most of the Bandeis sank under the weight of the shock of the divine decision against them. Some of them realized in their heart of hearts that the puritans were in the right, and, therefore, they surrendered themselves to them. But the crest-fallen leader, Mahant Singh, was irritated and refused to accept the decision arrived at by this method. He sent Lahaura Singh Kalal to convey his message to the Khalsas. Baba Kahan Singh feared lest some of the puffed up *Bhujangis*—a name of the young Khalsa—should raise their hands against him. He whispered a suggestion to him that a wrestling match be arranged between his (Lahaura Singh's) son Sangat Singh, and his own son Miri Singh, stipulating that the defeated party should declare in favour of the other. The wrestling began in front of the Akal Takht, and members of both the parties

formed a circle round them to watch the match and its issue. It seems the Bandei Khalsa were destined to lose their ground at every step. By a stroke of fate, Sangat Singh fell flat on his back. Lahaura Singh then stood with folded hands, begged their pardon, and joined the *Bhujangis.*

The Khalsa were now very much emboldened. They rushed upon the disheartened Bandeis and asked them to vacate their enclosure. With the exchange of hot words, their hands went to the hilts of their swords, and, breaking through the fence, they attacked the Bandeis. The latter soon gave way to the superior number of their opponents and retired to places of safety, leaving some of their comrades dead on the spot. The fate of the Bandei leader, Mahant Singh, is not clearly recorded anywhere, but according to the *Prachin Panth Prakash* he seems to have perished in the scuffle. Bhai Mani Singh occupied the seat of Mahant Singh, and many of the Bandeis penitently appeared before him to be addmitted into the fold of the Bhujangis. The process of purification was very simple. As the Bandeis generally insisted on their vegetarianism, a little of meat soap taken by them reclaimed them to Khalsaism. The leading among those who were thus reclaimed were Nanu Singh Dhesiawala, Kishora Singh and Shyam Singh Kalal, Bakhshish

Singh of Chamiari and the grandsons of Bhai Bhagtu.

This was the last straw. From that day forward the Bandei Khalsa disappear from from the active history of the Sikh nation; they assume a quietist role with their headquarters at Dera Baba Banda Singh, in the praganah of Riasi of the Jammu State. At Dera Baba Banda Singh, which is near the village of Bhabbar on the bank of the Chinab, Banda Singh is believed to have spent most of his time from October 1713 to February 1715, when, according to his descendants, he solemnized a second marriage with Bibi Sahib Kaur, the daughter of a Khattri of Wazirabad, of whom his second son Ranjit Singh was born. The mother and the child were here when Banda Singh was taken prisoner from Gurdas Nangal and taken to Delhi with his first wife and son, Ajai Singh, who was hacked to pieces on the 19th June 1716. Bibi Sahib Kaur and Ranjit Singh fortunately escaped the notice of Abd-us-Samad Khan and his son Zakriya Khan Bahadur, and lived in peace in the mountain recesses of Bhabbar.

APPENDIX II

The Successors of Banda Singh

For a quarter of a century vigorous persecution of the Sikhs was continued under the government of Abd-us-Samad Khan Diler-i-Jang and his son and successor Zakriya Khan Khan Bahadur. Driven out of towns, caught and massacred in their villages, hunted down like wild beasts in the jungles, and burnt to death in their hiding-places in the Punjab, they were reduced to great extremities and were forced to take refuge in the eastern and north-eastern hills, in the Lakhi Jungle tract of the Malwa Districts and in the sandy deserts of Bikaner. But, as mentioned before, Banda Singh's second wife Sahib Kaur and her son Ranjit Singh remained safe in the hills.

RANJIT SINGH—

Unlike his father Ranjit Singh was a quiet-natured man. He did not stir out of his mountain recess during these perilous days. The tide of the Bandei Khalsa, therefore, fell to the lowest ebb, and they were confined to a few families here and there in

the hills and plains. Ranjit Singh led a very pure life, always absorbed in the study of the Guru Granth Sahib, and propagated *Gurbani* and the sacred *Name*. He was only a titular head of the Dera with a nominal following. He ended his days in oblivion and died in the Dera on the afternoon of Sawan Vadi 9th, 1810 Bikrami, 1753 A. D.

JUJHAR SINGH—

Ranjit Singh had two sons, Jujhar Singh and Zorawar Singh, and the former succeeded him to the office of the Dera by virtue of his primogenitary right. Jujhar Singh was famous for his generosity and kind-heartedness, and is said to have once bestowed his own pair of bangles upon one Pandit Dila Ram who occasionally recited the Holy Granth Sahib to him. The times had now changed; the power of the Mughal in the Punjab had been broken and the Sikh Misals were extending their conquests throughout the country. This was a favourable opportunity for Jujhar Singh to extend his religious influence. He came as far as the Majha on a missionary tour and added a considerable number to his following. He built a new stately mansion for his residence and planted a beautiful garden at the Dera, where he died on the early morning of Monday, Sawan Vadi 14th, 1864 Bikrami, 1807 A. D., in the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh

of Lahore. On his death-bed he inculcated the study of the *Bani* of the Gurus and the repetition of the sacred *Name* of '*Wahiguru*'.

FATEH SINGH—

Jujhar Singh had two sons Fateh Singh and Suchet Singh. The elder Fateh Singh became the *Mahant*. The circumstances were very favourable for the extension of his influence. The Khalsa was now supreme in the Land of the Five Rivers and the Kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was expanding on all sides. Fateh Singh availed himself of the opportunity and paid several missionary visits to the Punjab during which the numerical strength of the sect was greatly multiplied. In fact 'all the Bandei Sikhs, that we see now, came into the fold during his time,' wrote the late Sardar Karam Singh in 1907.

The building of the Gurdwara known as the Durbar, in memory of Banda Singh Bahadur was the next item on his programme. With this object in view he undertook two extensive tours in the south-west as far as Sindh, and collected large sums of money from the illaqas of Hyderabad, Larkana, Multan, Bahawalpur, and Jhang. There are signs to show that many Sikhs had gone towards Sindh and the south-western deserts and jungles of the Punjab during the perilous days that followed the

death of Banda Singh. His memory was fresh amongst them and it largely contributed towards the success of Baba Fateh Singh's mission in these districts. He also built several houses for his own residence at Riasi, Akhnur, Jammu, Purmandal, Wazirabad, Amritsar, Hardwar and other places. He generally spent six months in touring and the greater part of the remaining six months at Wazirabad, the residence of his favourite wife Gulab Dei.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh very favourably received the request of Baba Fateh Singh for a jagir. He had great regard for the selfless sacrifics of Banda Singh Bahadur, who had sacrificed his all for the mission of Guru Govind Singh and had laid the foundation of the Sikh Empire a hundred years before him. He also knew that the practices at the Dera conformed to the tenets of the Sikh Religion and it brought multitudes of people into the fold of the Khalsa. He was pleased, therefore, to offer the following villages in jagir to Fateh Singh for the maintenance of the Dera:—

1. Milkhanwala, Tehsil Daska, District Sialkot, yielding Rs. 315/- per annum.
2. Buddha Razada, Tehsil Wazirabad, District Gujranwala, yielding Rs. 525/-
3. Two wells at Wazirabad.

4. 14 villages in the ilaqas of Akhnur and Udhampur (Jammu).

In addition to this, Raja Gulab Singh, Governor of Jammu, at the suggestion of his master Maharaja Ranjit Singh, granted to him on the 16th Phagan, 1890 Bikrami, February 1634, rent-free proprietary right of the village of Thanaur including the lands of the Dera Sahib.

The restriction for the Bandeis to give their daughters in marriage only to those who belong to their own fold owes its origin to Baba Fateh Singh. During one of his tours in the south-west, a Bandei lady of Khanewal, in the district of Multan, invited him to dinner in her house. At the time of the dinner, the *sangat* in the train of the Mahant exceeded far beyond the expected number. As the meals had only been prepared for a limited number, the male members of the house, who were not Bandeis, locked the house and went away. On the arrival of the Mahant at the house, the lady explained the position to him. The *sangat* was, however, satisfied with what was ready. But Fateh Singh took it very seriously and enjoined that the daughters of the Bandeis should not, in future, be married to non-Bandeis.

Fateh Singh had four wives, first Kishni, daughter of a Tuli Khattri of the village of Singial

in the district of Sialkot, second Gulab Dei of Wazirabad, third Bhag Bhari, daughter of a Shahni Khattri of Ahmadpur in the district of Jhang, and the fourth Narain Dei of the village of Chariai in the ilaqa of Udhampur (Jammu). Fateh Singh had only one son, Sahib Singh, from his first wife, but he died very young.

SUCCESSORS OF FATEH SINGH—

On the death of Fateh Singh on the 2nd of Har (Jeth Sudi, 2nd), 1902 Bikrami, mid-June 1845 A. D., —his younger brother Suchet Singh having died issueless—the direct line from Ranjit Singh to Jujhar Singh ended with him and the control of the Bandei Khalsa passed on to the line of Zorawar Singh, the second son of the first Mahant Baba Ranjit Singh. Under ordinary circumstances, Kharak Singh the elder son of Arjan Singh, son of Zorawar Singh, should have been elected. But, in the dispute that arose for the succession, his younger brother Amir Singh, the nominee and the adopted son of the late Mahant Fateh Singh's favourite wife Gulab Dei, was declared successful. Amir Singh had only one son Pahar Singh, who died issueless; the high office, therefore, was transferred to Daya Singh, the only son of Kharak Singh. A lengthy litigation ensued on the death of Daya Singh between his sons Teja Singh and

Attar Singh, when, at the suggestion of the Court, the Sangat of the Bandeis held a conference and decided in favour of the elder brother Teja Singh, with monthly allowances for the other three brothers, Attar Singh, Sohan Singh and Sujan Singh. Teja Singh was succeeded by Attar Singh, who, in turn, bequeathed his heritage to Bhai Sardul Singh, the son of his youngest brother Sujan Singh.

Baba Sardul Singh, the present head, is a promising young man of progressive views. He is an old student of the Shahid Sikh Missionary College, Amritsar, and is well-versed in the history and philosophy of the Sikh Religion.

The practices at Dera Baba Banda Singh upto the present day (1935) are strictly in accordance with the tenets and traditions of the Sikh Religion. The Sikh Scripture, *Guru Granth Sahib*, is installed in both the Gurdwaras, Dera Sahib and Bangla Sahib, and the divine services of Rahiras, etc., are followed by the usual *Ardasa* of the tenth *Padshahi*[1] ending with the *dohiras*:

> *Agya bhei Akal ki tabhi chalayo Panth,*
> *Sab Sikhan ko hukam hai, Guru manyo Granth ;*

[1] The names of Banda Singh and his three descendants, Baba Ranjit Singh, Jujhar Singh and Fateh Singh, are mentioned after the names of the Sahibzadas of Guru Govind Singh in the same manner as the names of the well-known Sikh martyrs are sometimes recited in the prayer.

Guru Granth ji manyo, pragat Guran ki deh,
Ja ka hirda sudh hai, khoj Sabad men leh,[2]

the salutation:

Wahiguru ji ka Khalsa
Sri Wahiguru ji ki Fateh,

and three to five shouts of

SAT SRI AKAL.[3]

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[2] The Command came from the Timeless,
Then was created the Panth;
And all Sikhs are enjoined:
To accept Granth as their Guru—
Accept the Granth as Guru; It is the embodiment of the Gurus;
Whosoever is pure in heart shall find in the Holy Word.

[3] In the evening, this is generally followed by the following recitation:

Wah Wah Guru Govind Singhji Tu hi Tu hi Guru Govind Singhji
Chakar Tere Guru Govind Singhji Ghore Tere Guru Govind Singhji
Faujan Terian Guru Govind Singhji Sangti Terian Guru Govind Singhji
Bajanwala Guru Gavind Singhji Kalghianwala Guru Govind Singhji
Darbarwala Baba Banda Singhji Bangalewala Sahib Ranjit Singhji
Mahalanwala Baba Jujhar Singhji Sangtiwala Baba Fateh Sinyhji
Wah Wah Guru Govind Singhji Tuhi Tuhi Guru Govind Singhji

The above is based on the personal observations of the author during his visit to Dera Baba Banda Singh from 29th January to 1st February 1935.

APPENDIX III

Extract from a Statement of Baba Sardul Singh of Dera Baba Banda Singh

ڈیرہ بابا بندہ سنگھ صاحب۔ ڈاک خانہ ریاسی۔ ریاست جموں

مؤرخہ ۱۹ ماگھ سمت ۱۹۹۱ بکرمی

ہمارے بزرگ بابا بندہ سنگھ المعروف بابا بندہ بہادر سمت ۱۷۶۵ بکرمی کو ناندیڑ کے مقام پر گورو گوبند سنگھ صاحب کے دستِ مبارک سے امرت چھک باقاعدہ سنگھ بنے اور سلسلہ بیراگ سے ہمیشہ کے لئے علیحدہ ہو کر گورو صاحبان کے پیروکار ہوئے۔ آپ کے بعد آپ کی تمام اولاد گورو صاحبان کی پیروکار رہی ہے اور اب تک ہے۔

صاحب بندہ سنگھ بہادر اپنے مرشد گورو گوبند سنگھ صاحب کے حکم کے مطابق پنجاب میں تشریف لائے اور گورو صاحب کے حکم بجالانے میں اپنی جان تک قربان کر گئے۔

دورانِ خدمت میں انہوں نے کبھی اپنے آپ کو گورو گوبند سنگھ صاحب کا مذہبی جانشین گورو نہیں کہلوایا اور اب تک وہ اور اُن کے کل جانشیناں "بابا" لقب سے مشہور ہیں۔

بابا بندہ سنگھ بہادر اور خالصہ کے درمیان کوئی فساد نہیں ہوا اور نہ ہی خالصہ نے کبھی ان کا ساتھ چھوڑا۔ بلکہ آخری ایام تک آٹھ سو کے قریب خالصہ اُن کی اطاعت اور فرمانبرداری میں اُن کے ساتھ دہلی میں شہید ہو گیا۔ اور کسی ایک نے بھی اپنی جان بچانے کے لئے خالصہ دھرم سے انکار و انحراف نہیں کیا۔

بابا بندہ سنگھ صاحب کی وفات کے بعد جو تنازعات تت خالصہ اور بندئی خالصہ کے درمیان ہوئے اُن کا بابا صاحب کی ذات سے کوئی تعلق نہیں۔

بابا سردول سنگھ سوڈھی گدی نشین
ڈیرہ بابا بندہ سنگھ صاحب۔ ریاست جموں
مؤرخہ ۱۹ ماگھ سمت ۱۹۹۱ بکرمی مطابق یکم فروری ۱۹۳۵ء

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Printed by
Mohan Singh at THE ORIENTAL PRINTING PRESS mritsar
and published by
Sardar Bahadur Sardar Bishen Singh, B. A., I. E., (Retd.),
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It much pleasure in saying that I carefally read through Mr. G Singh's little book on Banda Bahadur and have found it interesting and useful Besides the new facts that have been brought o light the book is written from a different stand point than what has hitherto customary Mr Ganda Singh's hero is not Banda but Banda Si hat has given a freshness to his study.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE,
Lecturer, Calcutta University.

I am proud to say that the treatise written by the able Professor, though small in volume (p 86), is perfect in itself and presents such a vivid sketch of Baba Banda's activities that the reader is not required to consult any more histories in this connection. The booklet though small deals with every main point of importance concerning Banda and is fully based on true and genuine historical information rather than on mere hearsay accounts. I congratulate Sardar Ganda Singh on placing before the public such a nice historical account of Banda and recommend the Sikh Educational Committee to introduce the book in the schools as a Text Book on Banda

KISHORE SINGH,
M R. A S.,
State Historian, Patiala.

I have read with particular care Mr Ganda Singh's booklet on Banda Bahadur. I am myself very much interested in the subject. The book repays careful perusal. It gives us some new facts and a new view point and shows unmistakably the enthusiasm of the author. I am eagerly awaiting his bigger book on Banda Bahadur.

24.1.35. NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA,
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